University of Nevada, Reno

Utah in Nevada: Expected and Aberrant Landscapes in the Mormon Village of Panaca, Nevada

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Geography

by

Stephen L. Hall

Paul F. Starrs, Ph.D./Thesis Advisor

August, 2004

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Paul F. Starrs, Ph.D., Advisor

Gary J. Hausladen, Ph.D., Committee Member

James W. Hulse, Ph.D., Graduate School Representative

Marsha H. Read, Ph. D., Associate Dean, Graduate School

August, 2004

Abstract

Within the Mormon culture region, particularly along the Wasatch Front, communities established by Mormon settlers during the 19th century have seen the obliteration of many of their foundational characteristics as social and economic systems have changed. Communities on the margins of the region, though remain more s sheltered from the effects of urban sprawl, second home booms, and heavy tourism and thus retain many of these traditional agrarian features.

Panaca, Nevada appears at fist glance to be one such outlying community. Analysis of Panaca's historic and contemporary material landscape suggests that social and economic aspects of Panaca, though, have been neither static nor isolated. Panaca's past business, public, and residential spaces speak to intricacies of Panaca's precarious role as a 19th century Mormon village and as an economic nexus between Mormon and miners. Consistencies and changes seen in Panaca's material landscape demonstrate a shift in how these spaces are perceived and used. To a degree these new ideas and trends reflect a broader American convergence around a suburban ideals. The results here, however, represent the interaction of contemporary political and economic processes with existing theocratic networks and the relic landscape of the traditional Mormon village.

Acknowledgments

Absolutely the first group of people I would like to thank are those residents in Lincoln County, Nevada who willingly helped out in any way that was asked of them, especially Pete Ilerlacher, Glen Lee, Peggy Draper, and Maryellene Sandovich. To Louis Benezet, Marge Detraz keep up the all your hard work, the residents of Lincoln County and all of Nevada and southern Utah should consider themselves fortunate to have you working for the public good. Thank you to everyone else who I may have bugged, spoken with, or was helped by over the course of my research in Lincoln County.

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Anything commendable in this thesis should be credited to the hard work, guidance, and patience of Victoria Randlett. The graduate seminar she taught in the Spring of 2001 inspired at least three, now completed, thesis projects including this one. Her classes have changed and enhanced my perspective on the world and my life more than any in my academic career. There is little doubt I wouldn't have made it through many things, including this program, without her time, dedication, and friendship.

Finally, I want to tell my family how much their positive support means to me. And most of all in loving memory of Leland Hall, 1926-2004, wish you were here.

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Chapter 1

Outposts of Urbanity

"Damn it, you aren't in the middle of nowhere--this is Pioche."

--Local Resident 2003

The common assumption made about me by people who learn that I have been working on a Master's thesis on the small southeastern Nevada town of Panaca is that I must be from there or have family connections. When encountered so repeatedly, this demonstrates a telling view of small towns throughout the American West, a view that seemingly suggests that unless one has an intimate connection with a small town such as Panaca or any other town in Lincoln County, it could neither be interesting nor important enough for outsiders to devote attention to.

This thesis takes quite an opposing view. Towns such as Panaca are more than geographic anomalies adding a superficial bit of variation or local history to the lightly populated areas of non-metropolitan West. I prefer to address Panaca, like other small communities in Lincoln County and the West, as integral pieces in larger, urban-based social, economic and political networks. To look at places such as Lincoln County is to understand intricate connections both long-extant and still developing in the American West.

Because of its size, location, demographic make up, and other attributes, Panaca is not immediately associated and linked with urban areas such as Las Vegas, Reno, or the Utah and Mormon capital of Salt Lake City.[1] Panaca's 600 or so residents make up not quite one-fourth the entire population of Lincoln County. Like most of Nevada, Lincoln County is lightly populated and has much federally owned land than privately owned land. Early in this new millennium, the other sizable towns in Lincoln County are: Pioche, Caliente, Alamo, and Rachel (Nevada State Demographers Office, 2003).

Even for Nevada, Lincoln County counts as sparsely populated. With an area over 10,634 square miles and 4,165 residents, according to the 2000 Census, Lincoln County's population density is about 0.4 people per square mile. Comparatively, the state of Nevada, which is commonly conceptualized by outsiders and residents alike as being mostly empty, has a population density of nearly 20 people per square mile. Of course most people in Nevada live in the urban areas of either Las Vegas or Reno, skewing these population densities. Neighboring Lincoln County are Nye County to the west, with a population density of nearly two people per square mile, and White Pine county to the north with double the density of Lincoln County at a little over one person per square mile (US Census, *American Fact Finder* 2004). While the boosters in Ely, Eureka, and Austin claim US Highway 50 as the loneliest road in America, the highways leading into Lincoln County from the north such as US

Highway 93 and State Highway 375 (also know as The Extraterrestrial Highway) make Highway 50 feel like a positively bustling thoroughfare. Vegas chronicler Deke Castleman makes a comparison between US 50 and US 93 in Nevada: "But if US 50 can be lonely, US 93, the other long road through central Nevada, can catalyze a deep existential *aloneness*" (Castleman's emphasis 1998, 293).

It would be easy to call Lincoln County the middle of nowhere, as one bar patron at the Overland Hotel and Saloon who was visiting from Las Vegas declared during the 2003 Labor Day celebration in Pioche, Nevada. He was quickly corrected by a local woman who had already offered up the quotation that heads this chapter. Indeed, Lincoln County *is* somewhere and not nowhere. Like other parts of Nevada and the West, Lincoln County's population is highly concentrated in a few towns. The towns of Pioche, Panaca, and Caliente are within thirty miles of each other and house nearly three-quarters of the county's population. While distinct, the three towns are tied through social, economic, and civic functions. Panaca is home to the high school attended by students from all three towns. As the county seat, Pioche hosts the county court, tax assessor, recorder, and other County government offices. Caliente holds a hospital and a number of small businesses.

In one of my first conversations in Lincoln County, a resident commented that "Carson City [the state capital] forgot about us a long time ago." This opinion marks a recurring sentiment noted in talking with residents of all three towns: A

feeling of solitude, isolation, even separateness from the larger population, political, and economic centers of the West and Nevada. This feeling is more than justified given the distances and the sparse population between them and the closest towns with populations over a few thousand people: St. George, Utah; Cedar City, Utah; and Las Vegas are all better than two hours away via highways. The opening chapter of Panaca's local history *A Century in Meadow Valley: 1864-1964* is titled "A Solitary Place," accurately demonstrating not only current sentiment, but capturing also a common attitude in the initial reasons why the original Mormon pioneers settled the area.

Such feelings of solitude, isolation, and remoteness brought about by the relatively small population clusters and large areas of unsettled spaces are held by visitors and locals alike in Lincoln County. But isolation should not necessarily be interpreted as an indicator of absolute separateness and independence. Yes, there are far fewer people, places, and things in Lincoln County to signify high levels of social and economic exchange as compared to larger urban areas. A central premise of this thesis, however, is that the towns of Lincoln County, and others in the American West like them, are intricately tied to a number of urban-based social and economic networks in the American West. Despite their perceived isolation and seeming separateness, the towns of Pioche, Panaca, and Caliente are decisively the result of

past and current economic and social connections with distant urban centers such as Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, and St. George.

My principal motivation for this approach was a reading of two books that speak remarkably well to one another: the geographical historian William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West,* and historical geographer Gray Brechin's *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power and Earthly Ruin*. Each book demonstrates the dominant role that urban centers, even distant ones, have had in the development of the West. In this thesis the perspective is not looking out from the center of the urban empires in the American West, but looking back from the hinterland. Both Cronon and Brechin provide excellent details concerning the economic and environmental consequences of urban hinterland dynamics in the 19th century American West, the time when Panaca was first settled. Lincoln County, in both historical and contemporary contexts, provides an opportunity to explore how urban hinterland networks begin, evolve, and recede over time. As a hinterland area, Lincoln County, and in my specific study, Panaca, demonstrate that urban centers can not only exert economic and political influence, as evident in Cronon and Brechin, but also that urban centers establish, influence, and enforce social and cultural attributes of their hinterlands.

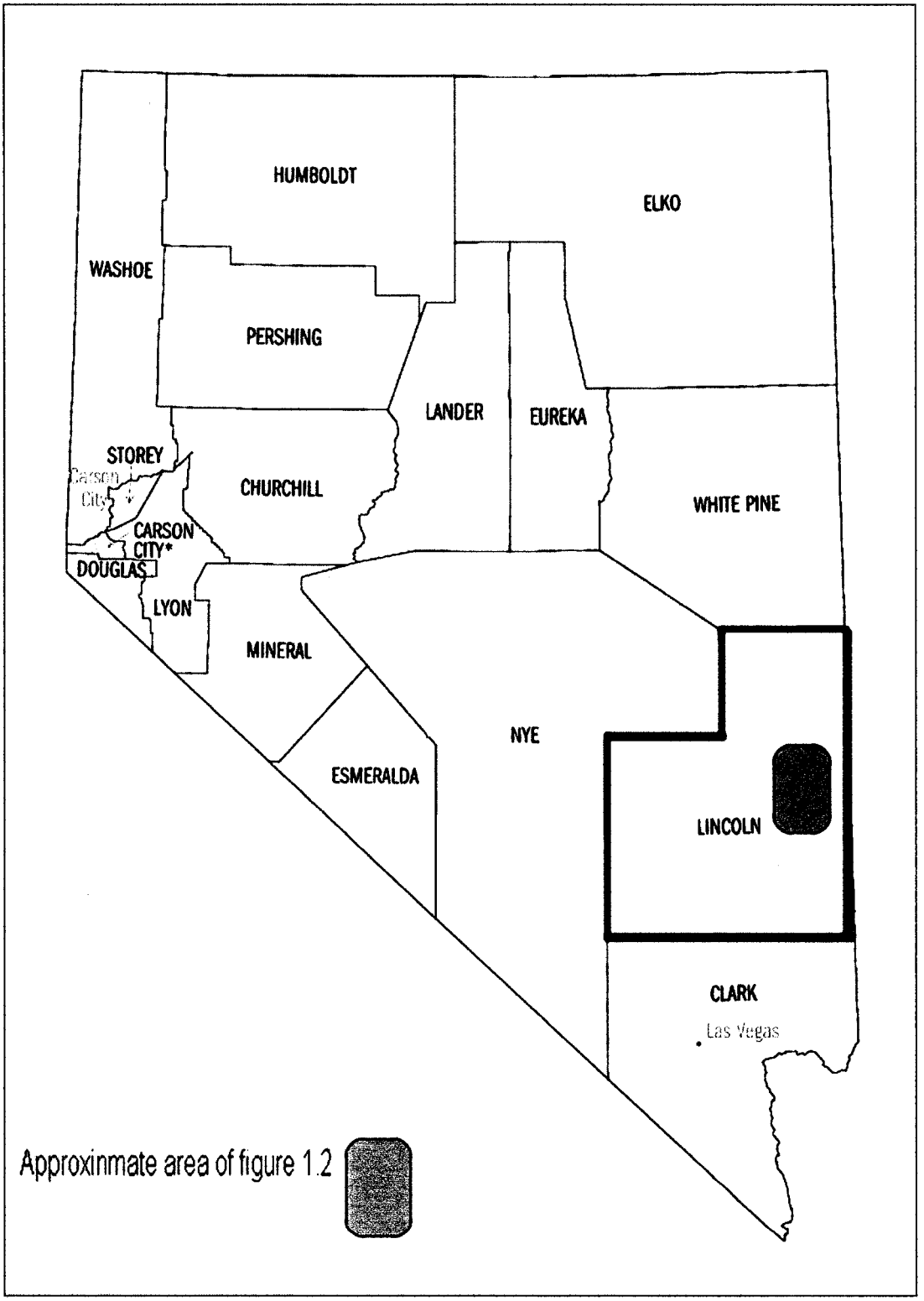

Fig. 1.1 Map of Nevada's Counties with Lincoln County Highlighted. Source: US Census Bureau, State and County Quick Facts.

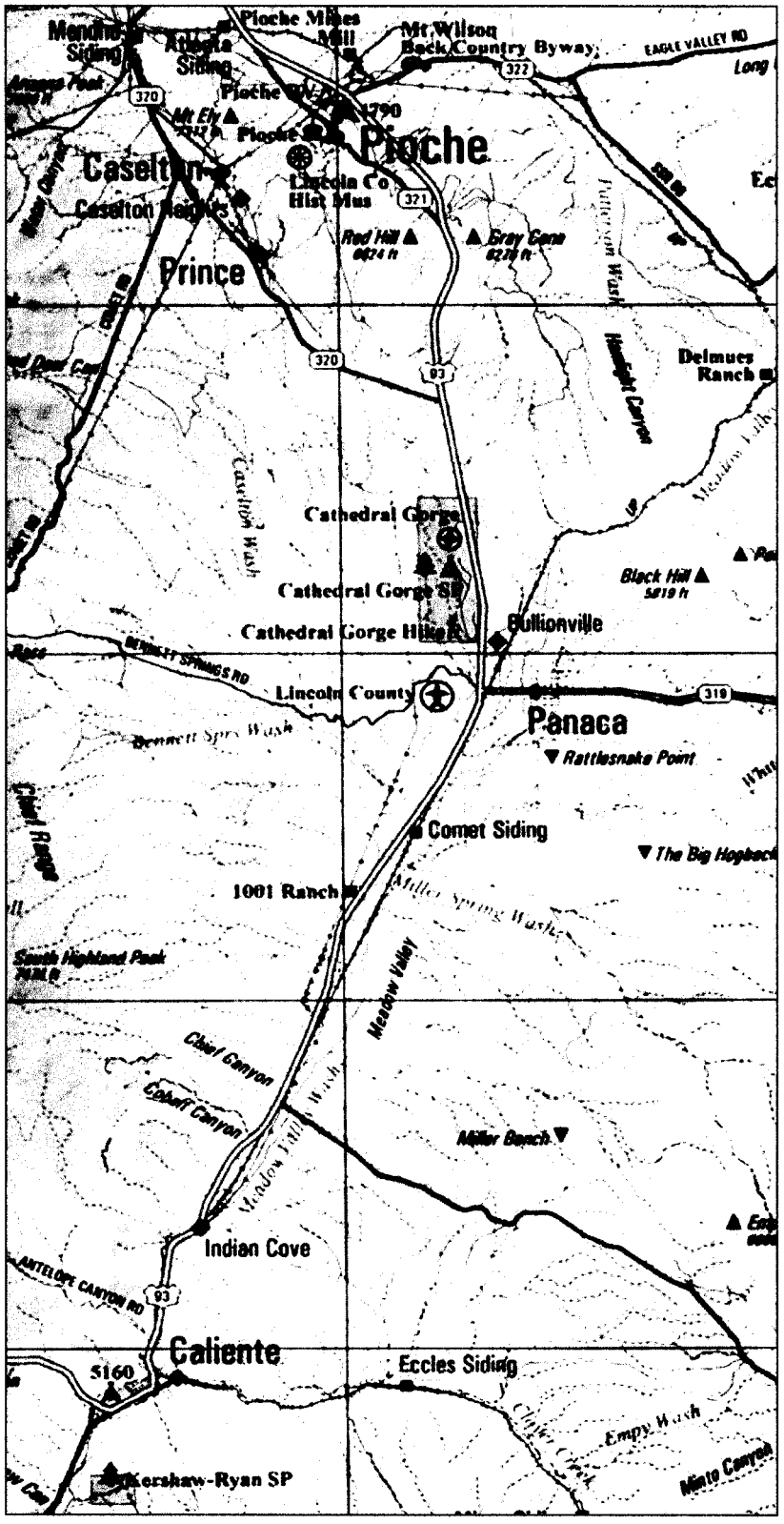

Fig. 1.2 Meadow Valley area of Lincoln County. Scale 1″ = 3mi
Source: *Nevada Atlas and Gazetteer*

Three Distinct Landscapes

On my first visit to Lincoln County I was armed with a few academic tools, one of which was Richard Francaviglia' book *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts*. In the introduction Fracaviglia uses the towns of Panaca and Pioche as an example of the "mining-agrarian contrast."

> The West has a way of juxtaposing contrasts, one of the greatest examples being found in Lincoln County, Nevada, where only about a dozen miles separate the flat, bucolic checkerboard order of Panaca, a Mormon farm village, from seemingly chaotic, densely settled Pioche, a silver mining town perched in a canyon/hillside setting (5).

Francaviglia's description is largely accurate, although a sharper and more telling contrast of economically derived landscape exists between Panaca and the former town of Bullionville--a boomtown built around a stamp mill during the early 1870s, which processed ore from Pioche's silver mines. Dependent on the fleeting economics of Western mining, all that one can see of Bullionville today are well-hidden building foundations and a cemetery, while the steady agricultural town of Panaca, first settled in 1864, still stands within sight a short mile across Meadow Valley.

An important attribute of Lincoln County's past and present, as pointed out in the 1981 publication *Lincoln County: Land of Many Frontiers*, is that Lincoln County's past and present are marked by highly contrasting Western frontiers. The book lists four such Turnerian-inspired frontiers that have shaped Lincoln County:

the "Mining" frontier, the "Ranching and Farming" frontier, the "Transportation frontier" and the "Federal" frontier.

Not elaborated on, but mentioned, in that book are two aspects of the assumed contrasting frontiers that are paramount in this thesis. The first is the urban derivation of each of these frontiers. While the mining and the agricultural frontiers played out in places such as Lincoln County, often the controlling capital, social impetus, agricultural markets, and labor for these activities were brought in from or provided by distant urban areas. The second aspect of Lincoln County's multiple frontiers that this thesis will elaborate on is the material landscape that these frontiers continue to shape. Perhaps simplistically, one can argue that Pioche, Caliente, and Panaca each epitomize a different Western Turnerian frontier. The unique situation in Lincoln County is that there exists an example of an ideal railroad town, farm village, and mining town all within 30 miles of each other, with very little in terms of settlement in between or nearby. This contrast in small town landscapes is even more noticeable given that minimal population growth (according to the decennial US Census in 1900 Lincoln County's population was roughly 3,250 people, and in 2000 was approximately 4,300) has meant these towns are sheltered from the radical changes that urban sprawl and quick economic growth bring to the material landscape of a many another once-small community.

Pioche's irregular street pattern, tight business district, small lots, and nearby tailings piles mark the impact of past mining activities upon the built environment (Fig 1.3, 1.4). While original prospectors made claims in the area around 1864, it was not until William Raymond and John Ely arrived in 1868 that the mining camp named after a San Francisco businessman begin to boom. While not the first prospectors in the area, Raymond and Ely were perhaps the luckiest. Their claims began to bear rich silver ore, which induced plenty of capital investment from San Franciscan and later Eastern capital. While not approaching the scale of the Comstock, Pioche's boom during the early 1870s spurred the town to grow to around five or six thousand residents. Like many towns across Nevada, Pioche's quick growth halted once the mines began to play out. Since then, Pioche has owed its existence to both nearby periodic mining activity, mainly lead and zinc in later years, and the jobs associated with being the County seat (Hulse 1971).

Materially, Pioche could be considered the quintessential post-mining town. Perched on a mountainside, Pioche spreads out like an alluvial fan into the valley below. Its business district is tightly clustered along its main street near where the original Raymond and Ely claims were. Like many former mining boomtowns, Pioche is now dotted with promotional historical markers and other mining relics in its landscape which hope to attract the occasional tourist making the detour off US Highway 93. Fortunately for Pioche its retention of the county seat has perhaps

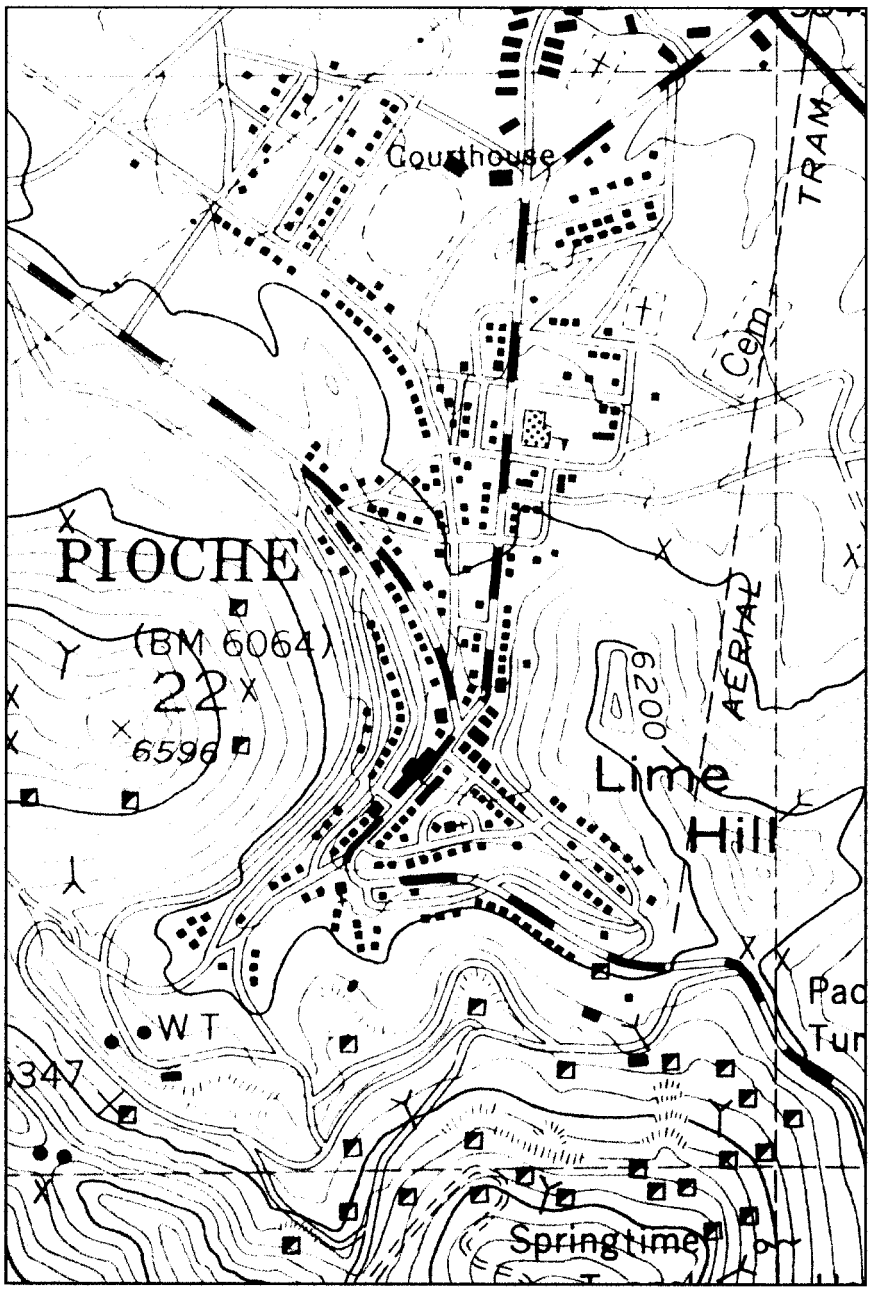

Fig. 1.3 Perched on a mountain side, Pioche's sporadic street pattern and dense housing can be seen in this map. Source USGS Pioche 7.5 minute quad 1970.

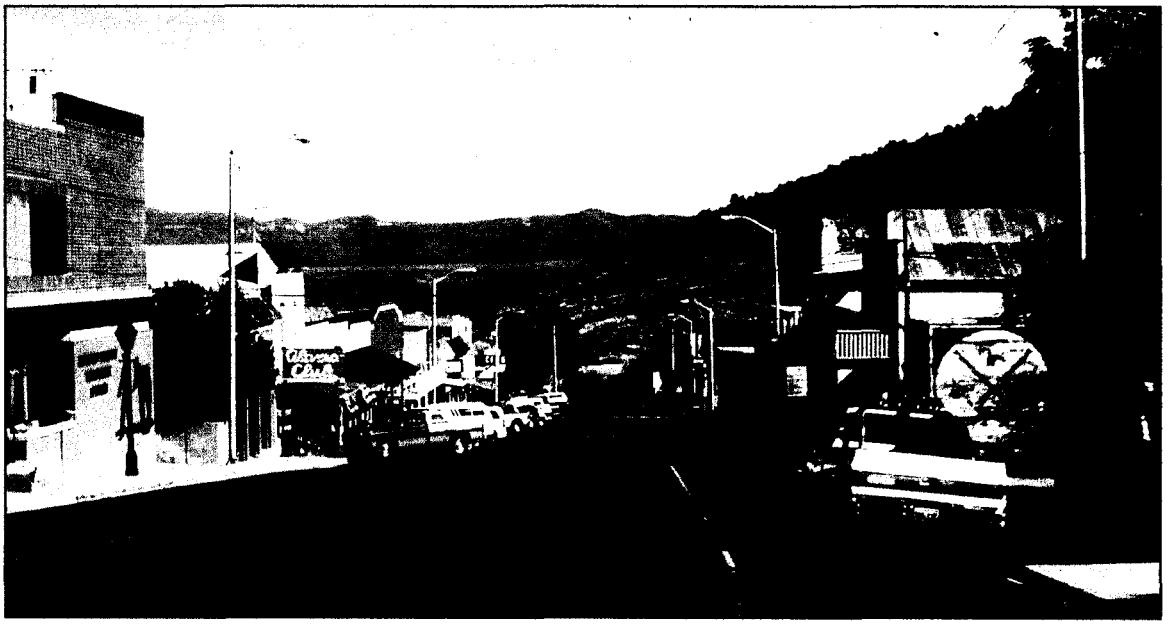

Fig. 1.4 Looking south down Pioche's main street.
* Unless noted, all photos taken by author.

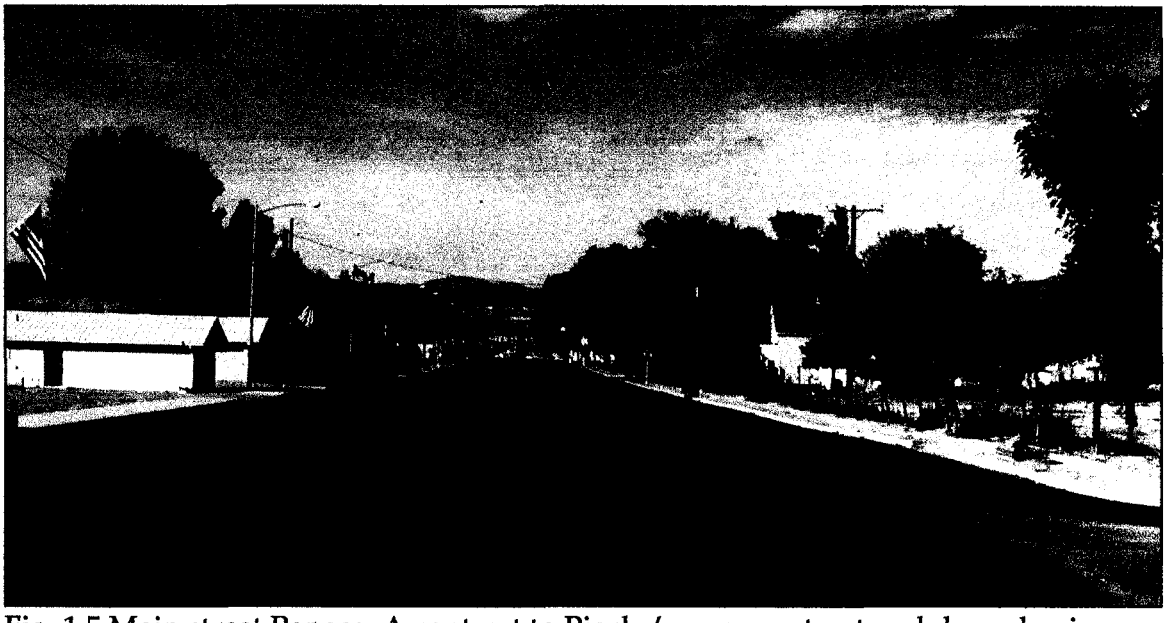

Fig. 1.5 Main street Panaca. A contrast to Pioche's narrow street and dense business district are Panaca's wide streets and generously spaced buildings.

saved it from becoming one of the many mining towns that has been completely abandoned.

Caliente's landscape can be considered one of a classic railroad town. Like Pioche's mining industry, Caliente's economy now has very little to do with the railroad, yet, the town still has numerous landscape elements which indicate its founding as a railroad town, including uniform company housing, a formable train depot (which now houses a museum and offices), and a town grid aligned with the direction of the train tracks (Fig 1.6, 1.7, 1.8). Caliente owes its existence to the Union Pacific Railroad, which located its maintenance yards there soon after the line that linked Salt Lake City and Los Angeles was completed in 1905.

The new rail line not only created the town of Caliente but also boosted the entire County's economy: With a rail line running to Pioche new mining operations could be made profitable. The same line also gave rise to the town of Las Vegas, which at the time was located in Lincoln County. As the population of Las Vegas grew, the population in the southern parts of the County seceded and split Lincoln County in two and created Clark County in 1909 (Hulse 1971; Sandovich 2001).

Today Caliente is at the center of Nevada's nuclear waste issues. One proposal for shipping nuclear waste to Yucca Mountain would be to ship radioactive waste by rail to a center near Caliente where the waste would be transferred to truck for its final leg to the Yucca Mountain repository. These types of tough issues with

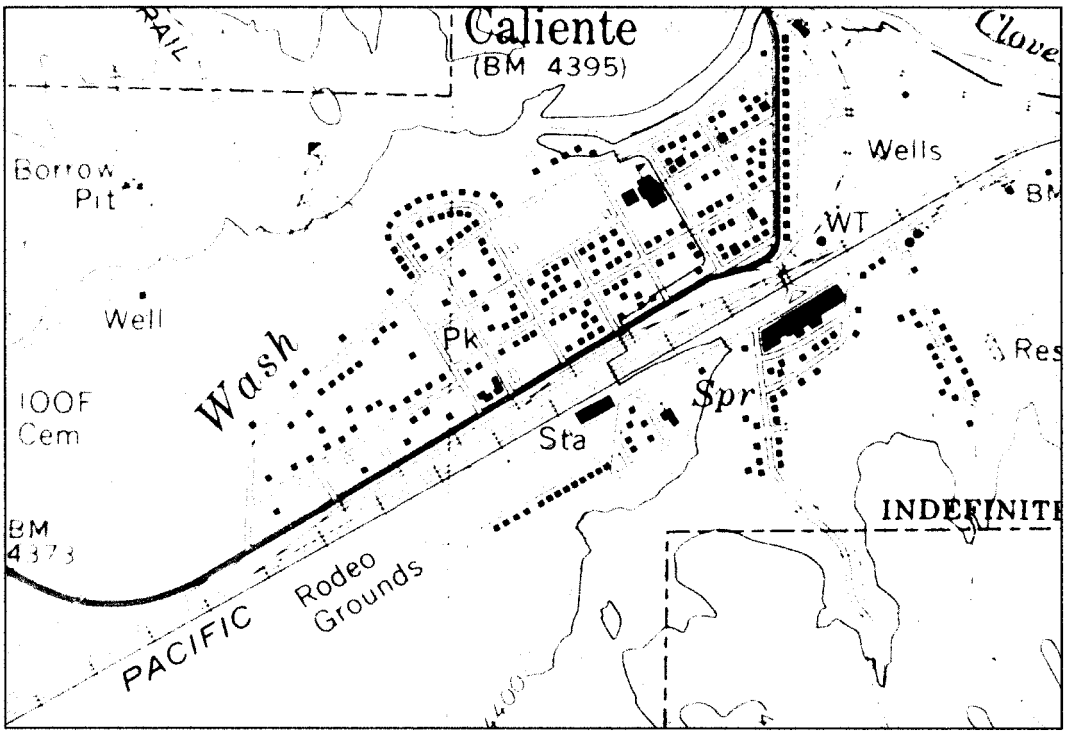

Fig. 1.6 Similar to many railroad towns, Caliente's street morphology is aligned with the axis of the railroad. Source USGS Caliente 7.5 minute quad, 1970.

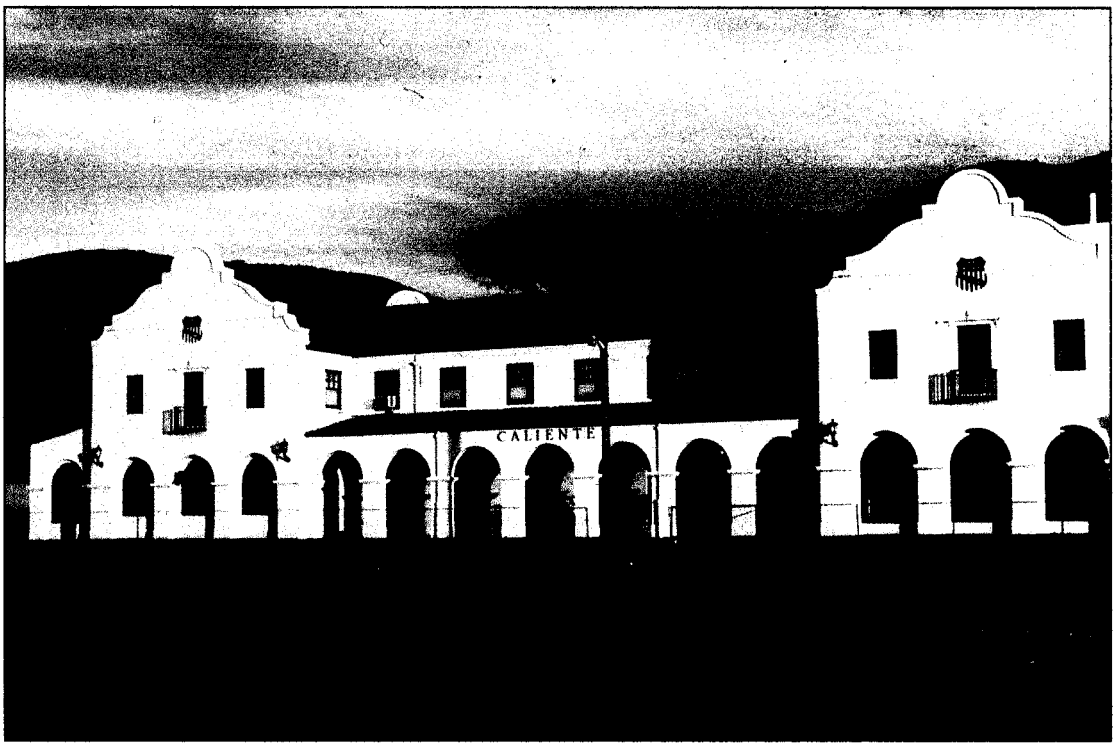

Fig. 1.7 Caliente's railroad depot, built in 1923.

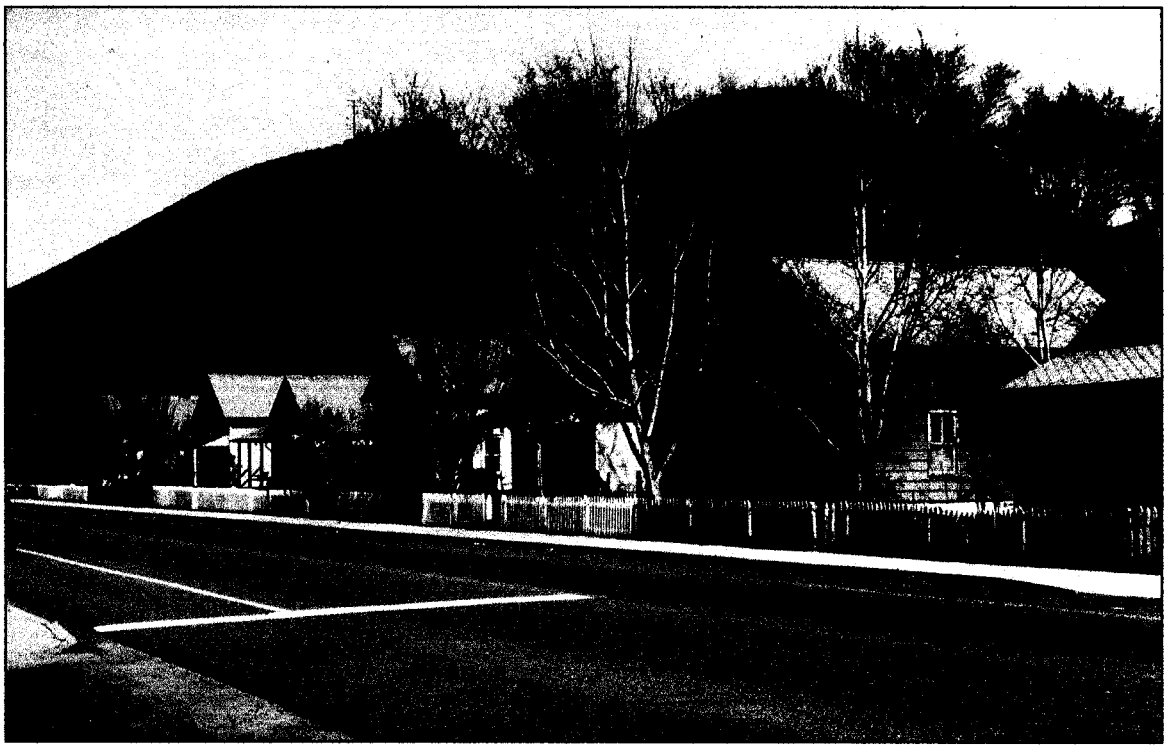

Fig. 1.8 Uniform houses originally built as company housing in Caliente during the early 1900s.

Fig. 1.9 A sign of vernacular protest on a Panaca street corner against the MX missile project still stands.

Fig. 1.10 The potential of future nuclear waste shipments through Lincoln County has sparked resistance among a number locals.

the federal government are not new for Lincoln County residents. Many locals remember the days of above ground testing at the Nevada test site, and more recently recall the proposed MX Missile Project that would have made Lincoln County a strategic target in the event of nuclear wa r (Fig. 1.9, 1.10).

Halfway between Caliente and Pioche lies the town of Panaca (Fig 1.11). Situated at the north end of Meadow Valley, Panaca is an oasis of lush pastures, trees, and mixed agrarian and residential spaces. Panaca's in-town pastures, wide streets, and irrigated fields evoke clear connections with similar towns in Utah. Panaca's location near a large spring is no accident. Its Mormon founders had already settled many of the interspersed and well-watered valleys south of Salt Lake City to St. George, Utah, before choosing to expand the boundaries of Zion to include Meadow Valley (an early survey of Meadow Valley in the 1860s estimated that the Valley contained well over 200 springs) (Bleak, 174).

As they had before, the Mormon leaders chose the Meadow Valley to plat another stake in the tent of Zion. Almost immediately after their the exodus from Illinois and arrival to the Great Salt Lake Valley in 1847, the main body Mormon Church, led by Brigham Young, began to build a theocratic empire know as Zion. During the 19th century, building a place for the Saints to gather in preparation for the Second Coming was crucial to the faith. Saints arriving in Salt Lake City from around the country and from overseas were sometimes called to settle distant

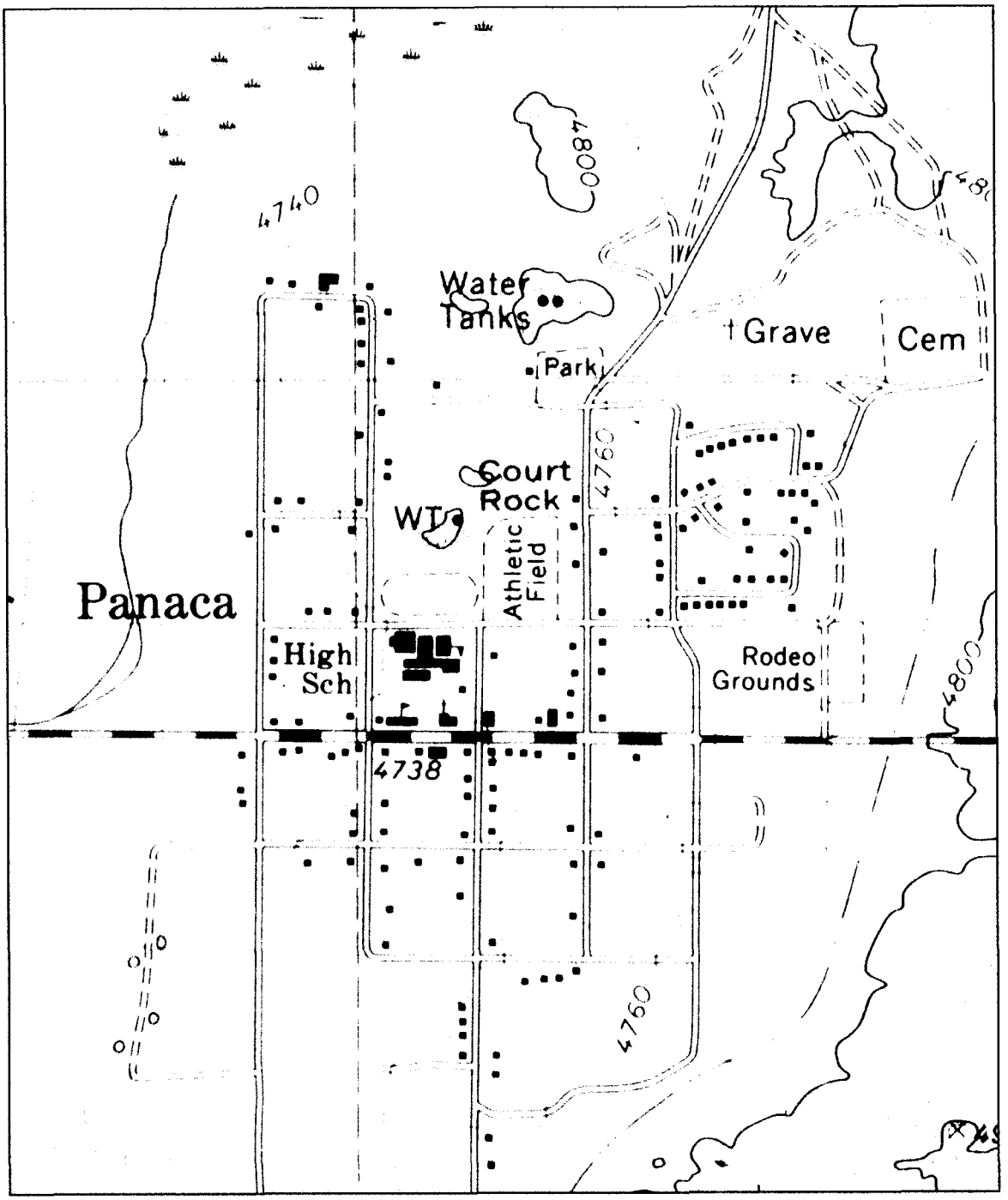

Fig. 1.11 With a few notable exceptions, Panaca's street pattern conforms to the prevailing grid pattern aligned to the cardinal directions. From USGS Panaca 7.5 minute quad, 1972.

corners of the expanding region. Young's desire for a self-sufficient economic region was a large factor in the Mormon Church directing settlement of what would become Utah and parts of Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, and Colorado. In all an estimated 500 towns like Panaca were settled by Mormon colonists between 1847 and 1900 (Arrington 1958).

In 1864, the first settlers of Panaca arrived in Meadow Valley for a number of reasons relating to the building of Zion. At the time, the residents were in Utah territory, but with boundary changes in 1866, Panaca became part of Nevada. Like many other small Mormon villages, Panaca had numerous features which distinguished it from the neighboring towns of Pioche and Bullionville, such a its central square, wide streets, in-town agriculture, one church, and a water system controlled by the Mormon Church.

Today many of Panaca's residents are descendants of the original pioneers of the late 1800s. Although the Mormon Church no longer controls as many of the daily economic aspects of community life it once did, Panaca retains a distinctly rural Utah feel for a Nevada town. Many landscape features of the original agrarian village remain. Visiting Panaca, one used to the typical features of any Nevada town notices a number of peculiarities. There are no slot machines or bars, although establishments at the junction of US highway 93 and state route 319, also know as the "Y," have served this purpose in the past. The only market is closed on Sundays

and it does not sell the Mormon taboos of coffee, tobacco, and alcohol. And perhaps most important there is, and always has been, only one Church in town.

Panaca or Bust

In the early stages of this thesis research, my general objective was to explore the contrast between the mining landscape of Pioche, the agricultural landscape of Panaca, and the railroad landscape of Caliente. The task seemed straightforward enough: I wanted to document the unique existence of three very different small towns that were in close proximity to each other, but relatively isolated from other towns.

Each town, like so many in the West, had its historical *raison d'etre*. Yet, today these initial reasons that each of these towns existed and how they were built were all but gone. Yet, Francaviglia and *Lincoln County: Land of Many Frontiers* characterized each town on its past economic niche (mining, agriculture, transportation) and not its contemporary ones. This, though, is understandable since each of these towns' landscapes still resonates with respective initial settlement features influenced by early economic activities.

In general it seems that although residents of the towns like to see themselves as different from each other, the differences, when examined on a broader scale, are quite small. While a Mormon/non-Mormon divide still permeates most social

discussion about the County, Mormons and non-Mormons alike attend the same schools, tend to travel to the same towns to shop at the same stores, work side by side with one another, yet, despite this cultural convergence, each town retains a distinct, though perhaps diminishing, cultural landscape created in the past.

Narrowing my thesis to the town of Panaca better focused needed attention on historical and contemporary landscapes. With its Mormon roots and classic village landscape, Panaca raises a number of questions concerning Mormonism in the West and Mormon landscapes. Panaca presents a standard setting to examine the creation and changing Mormon village while also presenting a unique case of study of the role of Mormon towns in states beyond the boundaries of Utah. In order to best examine the changing morphology of the Mormon village of Panaca, I will draw on past studies of Mormon villages and attempt to integrate the perspectives of urban hinterland dynamics and of the New Western historians to shed a different light on the ways in which the Mormon village is typically viewed in both historic and contemporary terms.

By using the material landscape of Panaca as an indicator of social and economic change, control, and authorship in both past and present contexts, I hope to explore a number of issues both local and regional. Forwardly, this thesis is an examination of the cultural landscape of the Mormon village of Panaca, of the social and economic contexts in which Panaca's initial landscape was created and how it

has changed since. In this thesis, the cultural landscape or the built environment is not only seen as an indicator of cultural attributes of the residents of Panaca, but is regarded as a means of economic, political and social regulation. Given this, Panaca's landscape does not merely indicate the changing cultural traits of its residents, but also the economic, political and social goals of those who have the means to create and alter the built environment.

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[1]Although The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the full and correct title, I use the term Mormon and Mormon Church throughout this thesis for both practicality and because it is the common term used by both Church members and non-Members in the study area.

Fig. 1.12 The unique feature of Court Rock overlooks Panaca. During the towns formative years a cave in the rock served as a make-shift jail.

Fig. 1.13 A common sight in Panaca, and many Mormon villages in the West is the existence of small scale agricultural activities in town.

Fig. 1.14 Idyllic Mormon village scenes along Panaca's streets.

Fig. 1.15 Part of the Mormon village has been the utilization of space for pragmatic reasons, as opposed to aesthetic purposes.

Chapter 2

Putting Panaca in Its Place

To the geographer, and indeed any observer of the everyday landscape, there are numerous ways to contextualize and analyze the small eastern-Nevada town of Panaca. Perhaps the most apparent, thanks to its history and social make up, is to examine Panaca as an example of a traditional Mormon community. In many a way, Panaca stands in as a classic village of the traditional Mormon culture region. Exploring how Panaca has been and still is a Mormon village in material and non-material ways provide interesting avenues of inquiry and add depth to the local and regional history. Panaca, however, is also in other distinct and telling aspects not what is expected from a typical Mormon community. It has existed and continues to exist in both the Mormon culture region and in the political and not always pro-Mormon State of Nevada. The interaction in one particular town of these two so quintessentially Western dichotomies, and over a period of the past 150 years, creates an interesting situation for geographers to explore. Panaca's existence on the fringes of both Nevada and the Mormon culture region pushes anyone studying Panaca to not only examine how other scholars have looked at Panaca and its

neighboring communities in the local literature, but additionally to incorporate a number of relevant academic literatures.

Past studies of Mormon villages have focused on material patterns, landscape description, and super-organic cultural and social reasoning for landscape expressions. In addressing the landscape of Panaca by incorporating and examining a combination of approaches by those who have looked at the American West should lead to a better understanding of the political and economic roles played by Panaca in the Mormon culture region and Nevada. In combining cultural and social approaches with economic and political and contexts, as well as intra-and inter-group conflict, Panaca's historic role in the West goes from being an incidental result of theocratic ideals uniformly held by a group of yeomen farmers to being an integral part of a highly organized economic system that was materially expressed and enforced in Panaca's built environment. In addition, seeing political and economic contexts allows Panaca's landscape today to be better analyzed, rather than regarding it as a cultural relic.

The Local Literature

Like a tourist visiting the Four Corners, Panaca stands in a number of places at once. While it appears to be a classic Mormon village, its close historical ties with mining, the railroad, and its political existence in Nevada make it a place hard to categorize.

This situation has perhaps caused Panaca to be somewhat overlooked in the local historical literature in comparison to its neighboring communities of Pioche and Caliente—at least from the perspectives of Nevadans. In James Hulse's 1971 work, *Lincoln County Nevada: 1864-1909, History of a Mining Region,* Panaca is largely passed over in favor of mining history. Hulse's focus upon mining and its auxiliaries incorporates a few well-produced pages on Panaca that provide a context for the development of Pioche, but any actual analysis of Panaca or even Panaca's role in the development of mining is nearly non-existent. But Hulse clearly states his position, scoring the community's role: "Panaca with its small farms and other smaller agricultural areas have contributed less of the stuff that makes history" (2). There may be a number of reasons behind Hulse's rationale in this particular case. Primarily, his historical accounts of Lincoln County focus on Nevada's quintessential pre-"liberal law" economic activity of mining, not on the meaning and significance of agriculture. In essence, it is Pioche that better represents the established idea of what Nevada traditionally is and has been, an image that Panaca violates. But a second and dominant focus in Hulse on mining, excluding Mormon activities, enforces a trend prevalent in historical and other academic literature, which prefers to segregate Mormon and non-Mormon studies one from the other.

The long-time researcher with the Nevada Historical Society John M. Townley documents the early mining and political history of the region in his 1973

monograph *Conquered Provinces: Nevada Moves Southeast, 1864-1871.* Townley gives roughly equal attention to both Mormon and non-Mormon activities in the region across the span of his seven-year focus. Townley characterizes the situation in Lincoln County as one where two distinct frontiers, the Mormon frontier and the mining frontier, were bumping into one another. Taking directions from Salt Lake City and other regional capitals such as St. George Mormon colonists established communities along the river valleys and washes in today's southeastern Nevada.

These colonists began to compete for land and resources with miners who were moving on from other Nevada mining settlements from the west. Townley sees the settlement of the Muddy River and the Meadow Valley region of Nevada by Mormons as a strategic buffer put into place by Brigham Young and other Church leaders against Gentile intrusion. By establishing settlements in these areas, Gentiles would be less likely to establish settlements close to some of the core areas of the Mormon culture region and, in the late 19th century, enter into areas that make up present day southern Utah. Like Hulse, Townley gives credit to mining, not agriculture, for making Lincoln County into something more than a "rural backwater" (5). In this scenario, the settlement of Panaca amounted at best to the creation of a strategic outpost on the extreme margin the Mormon empire, its intention to prevent any further intrusion of gentiles into Utah.

Along with mining, it is the railroad that has been the second focus of Lincoln County local historians. Publications such as Margene Sandoval's *The Mysterious Valley* and Walter R. Averett's *Through Rainbow Canyon* are principally concerned with the austere railroad town of Caliente and the non-Mormon ranchers in the area, and so tend to exclude any in-depth treatment of many Mormon activities in the county. A focus on the influence of the railroad in these books again treats Panaca, as well as the other Mormon communities in the region, as isolated settlements whose attachment to the other Gentile towns as minimal.

Similarly, literature that focuses on Panaca tends to exclude any examination of the relationships between Panaca and its neighboring communities. Publications such as *A Century in Meadow Valley* and *George Allen Wadsworth: Piley to Panaca* are invaluable sources of historical detail about Panaca and are essential for anyone researching Panaca. Yet, the focus of these books is much more on the documentation and preservation of local particularities than the exploration of larger academic questions such as landscape authorship, political-economy networks, or internal group dissent. Other publications that focus on Panaca or Meadow Valley include the article "Place of Refugee" by Juanita Brooks and the short article "Panaca Co-op as a Way of Life" by Elbert Edwards. Each of these pieces focuses much more on the interconnectedness of Panaca and Meadow Valley to regional political-economic circumstances than most locally focused histories, yet, given their short

length, they don't fully capture or analyze Panaca's role in the larger political and economic context during the 19th or 20th century.

An additional creditable work on Panaca is Leonard Arrington's short published talk given in 1995 "Panaca: Mormon Outpost among the Mining Camps." In it, the long-standing dean of LDS historians addresses the unique role Panaca played for the Church, southern Utah, and the mining communities of Bullionville, Delamar, and Pioche during the late 19th and early 20th century. Unlike other locally-focused historians, the primary goal of Arrington is to demonstrate the economic interconnectedness of Panaca to southern Utah, the Mormon Church, and the mining towns during the mining booms of the late 19th century. Panaca, according to Arrington, acted as a "funnel town" for goods produced by the Mormon settlements across southern Utah and sold to the nearby mining communities. Such an emphasis on Panaca's economic role and its important relationship to other outposts, whether Mormon or non-Mormon, is dramatically at odds with involuted localized histories that emphasize isolation, self-sufficiency, and Mormon separateness or exceptionalism.

Diverse influences make Panaca similar and unique when compared to other small towns in the American West, particularly other remote, yet "connected" Mormon towns. Given its role as both a Mormon community and a Nevada town, Panaca provides an opportunity to explore questions concerning the settlement,

development, maintenance, and change of Mormon villages in historical and contemporary terms. The local literature provides a wealth of nuanced historical detail and a good baseline from which to further explore the above themes. Local literature is, however, generally historically focused and concerned with internal detail. Other lines of academic work can provide a bit more information and context concerning recent activities, changes, and regional connections in Panaca.

Given its history as a Mormon community, Panaca's past and present are only understandable in relation to the Mormon Church, to Utah (and "Zion"), and to other Mormon enclaves. Additionally, I incorporate two other lines of research not always integrated into work on the Mormon village. First, I argue that Panaca's role in the expansion of the Mormon Church, in the American West, and in Nevada is best set amid the literature on imperial cities and urban frontiers. Second, Panaca can be addressed by fitting it into the literature of the New Western historians. So multifaceted an approach allows this thesis to go beyond descriptive historical geography. Indeed, the application of these lines of literature to Panaca's situation will help yield an analysis of how political, social, and theological forces influence the built environment.

Mormon Communities

In studying Panaca, there is the decided advantage of looking at an extensive existing body of work on Mormon communities, written by geographers and non-geographers. While Panaca has not been the specific focus of much academic literature, other towns have been that share similarities to Panaca, which allows the drawing of comparisons between Panaca and other Mormon communities, and invocation of past methodologies used by scholars approaching the meaning of Mormon communities. This study fleshes out comparisons among what others have observed and analyzed in Mormon communities and what I have seen in my particular work in Panaca. Finer details of other studies on Mormon villages are covered in the following chapter. For now it is enough to understand the larger context of Mormonism in the West, in which Panaca has and still does exist.

The amount of literature on Mormons, the Mormon Church, Mormon leaders, and all things Mormon is daunting, to say the least. Even a cursory look at the eleven-hundred-plus page bibliography titled *Studies in Mormon History 1830-1997: An Indexed Bibliography* reveals the thoroughgoing diversity and depth of Mormon studies. For my own particular venture into the fray I look to well-published geographers such as Lowell Bennion, who considers three works on Mormonism to be the most influential in understanding the Mormon culture region

in the American West (see Bennion, 1995). The first he cites is Wallace Stegner's *Mormon Country*. Stegner's work, originally published in 1942, blurs the line between documented history and a selective fiction and generalization about the Mormon region. Fundamentally, *Mormon Country* is a vernacular regional geography. The stories, social observations, and historical accounts illustrate a region where religion, isolation, and the American West meet. Crucial to *Mormon Country* is Stegner's attention to commonplace or everyday-level observations and descriptions. The daily lives of Mormons and non-Mormons in *Mormon Country* are used to explain a number of fundamental aspects of life in the region in and around Utah, such as town planning, Mormon Church social programs, Mormon myths, and pioneer perseverance.

Bennion's second influential work is Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900*. Unlike *Mormon Country, Great Basin Kingdom* is filled with extensive footnotes and historical details drawn from primary sources, and draws much less on thorough observation. Yet, over the course of 534 pages, Arrington covers the massive array of economic activities of the Mormon Church from 1830 to 1900. Through seventy-plus years, the Church established a regional economy dominated by religious settlements that were founded equally for economic and theological reasons. This regional economy was tightly controlled from Salt Lake City until the Church began to change its

economic policies and goals at the very end of the 19th century, under pressure from the U.S. federal government that was both pervasive and persuasive.

The third of Bennion's influential works on the Mormon West is D.W. Meinig's "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964." The goal of this 1964 article is to delineate a geographical Mormon culture region, one not only based on religious adherence, but also on a culmination of historical and social factors. Meinig addresses the need for this work by stating, "despite several studies which give some suggestion of its location, neither singularly or together do these offer a sure guide to the geographical dimensions of a Mormon culture region" (193). The demarcation of the culture region (Fig. 2.1) contains three principal areas that Meinig calls the core, domain, and sphere. Meinig's delineation of a Mormon culture region perhaps best represents the contributions that geographers can make to historical and social research on the American West.

Together these three works make up an important foundation for those doing research in the Mormon culture region. Illustrated in all three works are the many ways that a distinct region within the American West can be said to exist. That region has taken shape thanks to the influences of the Mormon Church and its members. Tied together through vernacular activities, as described by Stegner, by the economic foundations described by Arrington, and the spatial congruency of

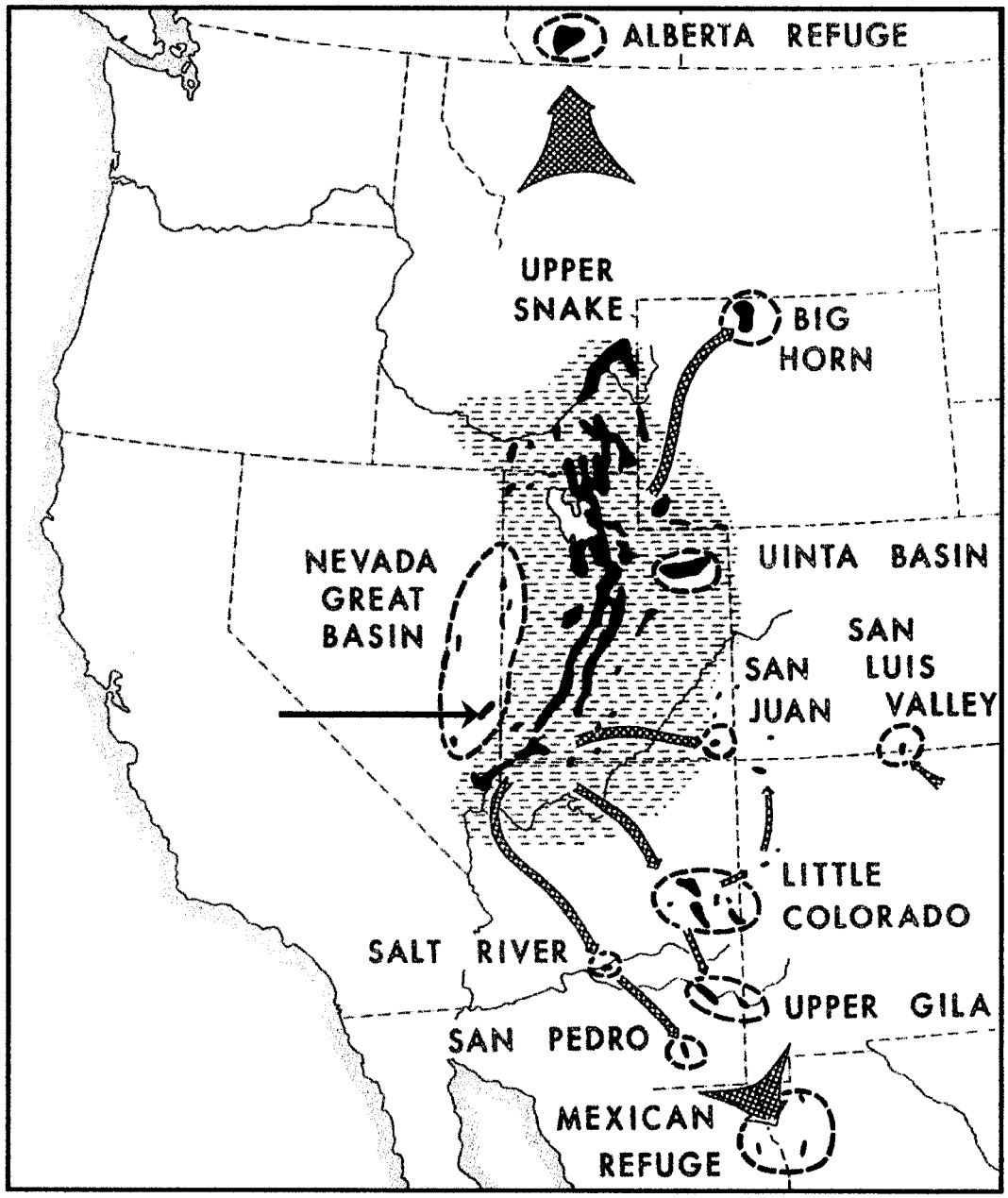

Fig. 2.1. Meinig's Mormon Culture Region. From D.W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964" 205. The arrow (added by the author) points to the Panaca and the other Meadow Valley settlements.

social and historical qualities that are described by Meinig, the incorporation of Panaca into Mormon country makes a great deal more sense. A Mormon community founded in 1864, Panaca fits snugly within all three of these foundational works. Importantly, by understanding these and many another studies of the Mormon culture region, one can better understand that despite superficial appearances Panaca is not an isolated group of yeomen farmers and ranchers. Instead, Panaca and its residents are, and have been since the community's initial settlement, part of a larger highly connected and organized political and religo-cultural movement that originated in the 19th century, one that, while changing its form and policies, does still exist today.

A common theme in Bennion's three influential works is each author's attention to a tendency to categorize and analyze the Mormon culture region based on Mormon/non-Mormon categorizations. Stegner's Mormon country is divided into two parts based on this categorization and Meinig's article speaks, if gently, of gentile "intrusions." This traditional division is in many ways accurate and telling of Mormon and non-Mormon attitudes and an often adversarial relationship between the two groups. The insider-outside schism is also a practical starting point for further investigations into Mormon history and the Mormon culture region. The categorization, however, has perhaps been over-used or taken in ways that have hampered research into the social and economic relationships that non-Mormon and

Mormons have willingly created and maintained. Such criticism in no way disputes intense feelings and actions of separateness that exist between many Mormons and non-Mormons. What should be considered though is that sticking to this basic social categorization may ignore a number of interesting aspects of the Mormon culture region that involve the relationship between Mormons and non-Mormons. Additionally by labeling all non-Mormons in the Mormon culture regions as "intrusions" as Meinig does, masks the inherent diversity and conflict within both the non-Mormon and Mormon communities within the Mormon culture region.

The habit of categorizing residents of the Mormon culture region as ether Mormon or gentile is related to another trend in the Mormon literature predicated on a doctrine of Mormon self-sufficiency of the late 19th century. Arrington's principal thesis in *Great Basin Kingdom* is that the economy of 19th century Utah was directed by Church leaders in order to create an economically self-sufficient theocracy. This goal closely aligns with the doctrine-based initiative to create a utopian society, the Empire of Zion, in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ. The self-sufficiency that Arlington describes isn't necessarily complete economic separateness. His encyclopedic deceptions of activities in 19th century Utah portrays a region purposely tied to regional, national, and international economies.

Consequently, ideas of separateness, conflict with non-Mormons, and self-sufficiency are abundantly prevalent in the literature on the Mormon culture region.

The ideas of Mormon isolation, distinctness, and peculiarity have in certain ways blinded later researchers to the ways that the Mormon culture region, the Mormon Church, and Utah have been closely tied to the rest of the American West and the United States. A few sentences from Samuel Taylor's *Rocky Mountain Empire* illustrate the degree to which the literature has given too much to the idea of Mormon isolation. "Utah is more than a state. It is a state of mind. The mental wall surrounding it has been called the Zion curtain. Few outsiders have penetrated it, except for the guided tour. Gentiles know little about the Peculiar People..." (ix).

By no means is this a treatise insisting upon abandonment of some of the prevalent academic assumptions and habits concerning the Mormon culture region. Yet, by acknowledging these common themes in Mormon literature I may be able to approach the subject area in a somewhat different manner that might lead to further investigation and alternative conclusions about the character of the Mormon culture region and its various communities and people.

Imperial Cities

Addressing Panaca strictly as an isolated Mormon community in Nevada is perhaps the most straightforward and uncontroversial method drawn upon in this thesis. Yet, these sorts of studies on other Mormon communities have already been done. One of the goals of this thesis is to see how Mormon communities change when

viewed through other academic frameworks. Plugging Panaca into the literature on urban imperialism and hinterland relationships, specifically in the American West, adds a much-needed dimension to the already explored scenario of Panaca as an isolated Mormon community. In the context of an urban West, Panaca becomes tied into the same systems of settlement, economics, and politics as other urban and non-urban communities in the West. With Panaca linked to the urban systems around it, Panaca's material landscape does not just reflect local manifestations of larger cultural forces, but also important geographic pieces to larger political-economic systems.

Historical perspective on urban hinterland dynamics in the American West can be found in the work of such authors as John Reps, Carl Abbott, and Gunther Barth. These authors examine the role of the urban in the development of the American West. Traditionally many Western historians and geographers have focused on an American West of homesteaders, miners, farmers, ranchers, and other frontiersmen—not urban dwellers. This focus is largely due to the influence of Fredrick Jackson Turner and his views of the American frontier. For a number of decades, the New Western historians and other scholars have effectively dismantled Turner's frontier thesis. This paradigm shift in American Western history does not undo decades of frontier thesis inertia — as evident in many of the local histories

reviewed above and many of the non-academic perceptions that remain vibrant among local residents.

One of the scholars to escape Turner's influence is the Cornell urban historian John Reps, who writes, "Focusing their attention mainly on rural settlement of the frontier, they have minimized the roles towns played in the process of Western expansion, failing to note that the creation of new towns preceded or occurred simultaneously with the opening of lands for farming and ranching" (Reps 1981, 1). In both *The Forgotten Frontier* and *The Making of Urban America* Reps illustrates the importance, if not the primacy, of the city in the settlement of the American West. Unlike the Turnerian view, which hold that cities would come about only after a ritual sequence of explorers, miners, and farmers, Reps saw that cities were the basis for western expansion. Throughout his works Reps emphasizes a distance from the Turnerian tradition:

> Thus, nearly every Western town and city began as a planned settlement whose physical forms were determined in advance by individuals, corporations, colonization societies, religious groups, or public officials. Nothing could be further from the truth than the notion that Western towns originated as spontaneous crossroad hamlets that grew slowly, incrementally, and randomly, without guidance or directions. (1981, 5)

The work of Gunther Barth in *Instant Cities* and Carl Abbott in *The Metropolitan Frontier* offer complimentary histories of urban growth in the American West. *Instant Cities* focuses on the late 19th century rise of San Francisco and Denver. Taking a tone similar to the assertions in Reps of the primacy of an urban frontier,

Barth states, "In the West, the second half of the 19th century was the age of city building" (5). Abbott focuses on the post World War II boom years of the American West. Both authors stress the significance of the city as the driving force in a region that has been largely characterized by the myths associated with the rugged individual, be it prospector, cowhand, or homesteader.

The work of William Robbins adds another dimension to the urban West. In his book *Colony and Empire,* Robbins explores the importance of eastern capital investment and influence on the West. Significantly, this capital investment for mining, agriculture, logging, and other activities came from cities, and typically from American eastern cities. With Robbins' scenario, the American West is less a frontier of independent settlers but a region more or less tightly controlled by the wills and activities of capitalists, corporations, and investors who were largely located in cities.

William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* is a close study emphasizing the importance of the urban scene in the creation of the American West. Cronon pieces together a history of Chicago that illuminates important aspects of a vast city built upon boosterism, commodity exchange, and hinterland development. Importantly Cronon attempts to obliterate any division between urban and rural and to understand both the city and the country as part of the same phenomena. The traditional mutually exclusive categories of urban and rural are called into question

throughout the book as Cronon ties Chicago's economic growth and power to its ability to create and manipulate its vast hinterland as well as its domestic and foreign trade markets. "At the heart of this new system was the birth of city and hinterland. Neither was possible without the other"(81).

In a like fashion, Grey Brechin's book *Imperial San Francisco* examines San Francisco's rise to prominence in relationship to its ability to exploit its hinterland. Unlike Cronon who admits he has "little to say about individual men and women" (xvii), Brechin's book gives names and faces to the individuals and families who controlled the capital investment in San Francisco and its hinterland such as the Scotts, the de Youngs, and the Hearsts. Similarly, Brechin emphasizes the importance of understanding the urban and the rural as part of the same mechanism, especially in the American West. Brechin's emphasis on the "pyramid of mining" not only illustrates the economic relationships between the hinterland and the city but also the ability of the city and its leaders to gain political and economic power through willingly developing and manipulating a relatively powerless hinterland of people and natural resources.

An interesting scenario arises when applying Brechin's work to Salt Lake City. How might Salt Lake City be an imperial city? In what ways is it similar to and different from San Francisco, Chicago, Denver, and other Western cities in terms of its relationship with its hinterland? While these questions are not the primary focus

of this thesis, they are important in understanding how Panaca, seemingly isolated as it is, fits into a West of urban-based empires and exploited hinterlands. By using the framework of *Nature's Metropolis* and *Imperial San Francisco* it could be concluded that Salt Lake City's relationship to Panaca is purely one of economic entanglement. Yet, given the role of the Mormon Church in the development of the economy of the region, the relationship between Salt Lake City and Panaca becomes one of a dynamic social, religious, and ideological direction and exchange.

In *Empires in the Sun* Peter Wiley and Robert Gottlieb explore some of the interconnected religious, political, and economic powers in Salt Lake City; however, Wiley and Gottlieb focus much more on the post-World War II years in Salt Lake City and not on the 19th century, when the Mormon Church was actively colonizing an area in the West that correlates with Meinig's Mormon culture region. While the finer details of where Salt Lake City's hinterland was, and is now, could be best explored in a separate study, one may view Meinig's geographically delineated Mormon culture region not only as a traditional culture region, but, as a map of Salt Lake City's historical economic hinterland that Panaca was definitely a part of.

While Salt Lake City held sway over the settlement and early years of Panaca, the growth of Las Vegas during the last half of the 20th century has created a new region in southern Nevada and southwestern Utah that Panaca has become a part of. Las Vegas's influence on economic, social and political terms of Panaca, like Salt

Lake City of the 19th century, can be seen in Panaca in a variety of ways that will be explored later in the thesis. Importantly, by incorporating these previous studies on the urban West into a study of Panaca can perhaps complexify existing assumptions about seemingly isolated rural Mormon and non-Mormon communities.

The American West

> The Mormons would not fit the Frontier Thesis, and so Turner and Billington stuck by the Frontier Thesis and dismissed the Mormons. It seems to me a much wiser choice to stick by the Mormons and dismiss the Frontier Thesis. (Limerick 2000, 240)

Another vein of literature that situates Panaca geographically and historically is the work of the so-called New Western Historians. While not the first to challenge the predominance of Turner's frontier thesis, the New Western Historians such as Patricia Limerick, Donald Worster, Richard White, and *Nature's Metropolis* author William Cronon have become some of the most well-known and influential historians of the American West. By focusing their attention on issues such as environmental degradation, citizenship, private property, social justice, political subjugation, and other topics largely ignored by past historians they have changed the way scholars examine the places and people of the West. Significantly, authors such as Limerick, White, and Worster offer precedents for better understanding the American West as a specific place where cultural plurality, corporate control, aridity,

and mythology have merged instead of a process where civilization and American-style democracy could only arise as the Frontier Thesis has suggested.

Mormons, as Limerick notes, fit poorly into the Frontier Thesis. First, they jumped the frontier of 1847 when they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley and settled in what was then Mexican territory. Second, Mormons with communal economic practices were not the typical "uniquely self-reliant individualistic American pioneer" of Turner's West (Limerick 2000, 239). Third, the Mormons did not follow the evolutionary process toward "civilization" that the Frontier Thesis posited. Mormons came into the Great Basin as farmers, industrialists, and to a degree urbanites, not the rugged frontiersmen of conquest as would been needed under Turner's model.

Of particular interest in the New Western literature is Patricia Limerick's treatment of Mormons. For Limerick, Mormons provide an excellent example of the complexities of ethnicity, conquest, and conflict. In both *The Legacy of Conquest* and *Something in the Soil* Limerick uses the Mormons as an example of how the West was not always the simple result of European settlers ousting Native Americans. The scenes of conflict in the West were much more complicated than monolithic assumptions and racist characterizations of both the dominating group and the minorities in the American West. The Mormons provide an interesting and a less contentious venue to explore questions concerning conflict, race, and ethnicity.

Mormons, who Limerick asserts represent an ethnic group, have been both persecuted and themselves persecuted others quite relentlessly in the West. Their shared history of exodus, persecution, and other unique behavior and beliefs set Mormons apart from the more traditional European-derived Westerners. Still, they do not fall into a completely separate group, as might Native Americans. This seemingly unique place as a sub-culture in conflict with its European-American hearth in the context of American expansion and conquest represents the inherent complexity in the American West. Following the example of Limerick and others, the role of historians and others is to get past traditionally simplistic views of race, ethnicity, and conflict and to develop articulated concepts of these themes in the West.

Fitting the entire Mormon Church, Utah, and the Mormon culture region, and specifically Panaca, into the New Western history would be a broad undertaking that would require much more than what I have set out to do in this thesis. Doing so would expose a number of issues pertaining to the 19th century Mormon Church that have been for the most part either ignored or downplayed in most research. It would also allow for a re-interpretation of the history of the Mormon culture region. For this work, however, there are advantages to acknowledging some of what the New Western historians have offered. Authors such as Limerick, White, Cronon, and other ask us to rethink what we take for granted in the American West in terms of

race, ethnicity, conquest, myth, and other issues that are of utmost importance in the past and present. At least considering these topics allows for a different understanding of the Mormon culture region, Utah, the Mormon Church, and Panaca.

Where next?

Within these three areas of the historical and geographical literature Panaca precariously exists and has existed in a number places at once, including the Mormon culture region, Nevada's mining frontier, and as an outpost of the urban frontier. By viewing Panaca in these contexts, what has happened in terms of Panaca's material settlement and existence is not just localized happenstance. Instead, Panaca is at least partially a reflection of the larger political and economic forces of the American West. At best, one can see in the historical and contemporary social fabric of Panaca and its residents an important, albeit small, dynamic piece in the larger complexity that is the American West. Not only can one see larger forces at work in Panaca, but it is Panaca and in places similar to Panaca where there have been active participants in such historical and modern-day contexts as the Mormon West, the urban West, the New West, or the European West. With these larger issues in mind, the goals of this thesis are not simply the addition of some detail to the local history but a broader attempt to explore Panaca as a place where the larger

geographical and historical circumstances and forces of the American West intersect with particularities of the local circumstances in both idiosyncratic and predictable ways.

As a geographer, a number of methodologies and perspectives could be used to examine Panaca as a place that is integrated into various socio-economic areas in the American West. Considering the importance of Mormonism in Panaca through its history to present day, I will draw most of my methodological inspiration from the past studies of Mormon villages discussed in the next chapter. By delving into these studies and their findings I seek to establish a methodological framework based upon the examination of Panaca's built landscape to examine the various places and spaces within Panaca in both historical and contemporary terms. These studies will also raise questions concerning the role of Mormonism in the American West, the role of the Mormon Church in landscape creation, and the function of a Mormon village, with other pertinent questions addressed through the evidence provided by Panaca's historical and contemporary landscapes.

Chapter 3

Assessing the Mormon Village

> "Yet, despite the recognition of the Mormon landscape, there remains widespread disagreement about its meaning." Richard Francaviglia (1978, 41)

A similarity in the appearance of Panaca to other Mormon villages in what the geographer D.W. Meinig has bounded as the Mormon culture region, like a striking overall difference from the neighboring secular communities of Pioche and Caliente, is more than noteworthy. Given Panaca's close resemblance in its landscape features to either real or idealized manifestations of the Mormon village, my research for this thesis has focused on documenting past and present features in Panaca's material landscape. In choosing how to address Panaca's built environment I draw inspiration from past studies of the Mormon village landscape. The built landscape, though not a perfect clue to culture, does speak to certain changing social and economic circumstances of. Studies by past researchers have tracked elements of the landscape such as street patterns, lot size, public irrigation systems, and other settlement features that are seen as common to Mormon villages.

This chapter compares and contrasts a number of existing studies and perspectives on the Mormon village. My landscape study of Panaca is built upon a body of literature that quite specifically addresses the environment of the Mormon

village. In examining different methodological pieces from other Mormon village studies, I can examine how Panaca compares, whether historically or today, to other Mormon villages. Doing this not only provides a methodological context for this thesis, but it also presents an opportunity to address the conclusions and analyses of other scholars. The literatures covered in Chapter Two, while crucial to interpreting and analyzing the material landscape of Panaca, do not address how to go about shifting through the past and present landscapes of a Mormon village. Instead, these literatures are better utilized in the assessment of the Mormon village studies and in broader analyses in later chapters.

The Mormon Village

It is hard to overstate the importance of the Mormon village in the development and identity of the Mormon culture region. While Mormon communities did exist before the Mormon exodus from the Midwest to Utah in 1847, the settlement of what would become the Mormon culture region during the last half of the 19th century was unique. Mormons were moving into areas of the frontier in which they were the first European settlers. An estimated 500 Mormon colonies were established during the last half of the 19th century. Although a number of these settlements, estimated by one scholar at 14 percent, were abandoned thanks to a number of reasons, the

remaining settlements established a distinct Mormon presence in the American West (Rosenvall 1994, 114).

In general, Mormons did not settle in scattered and isolated farmsteads. Instead, the common practice for Mormon colonists was to establish nucleated villages (Campbell 1988, 58). These follow in some aspects upon a prevailing settlement form well known in the northeastern United States, the "New England Village" and in other way the settlement types found in the Ohio River Valley of the 1800s. Joseph Smith, the Mormon patriarch, was after all of Yankee stock, and he encouraged settlement to follow the forms he himself had grown up with (Wood 1997). The prevalence of the Mormon village in the Mormon Culture Region as the prototypical settlement type is apparent to those who have visited the many communities in the Mormon culture region that were initially settled between 1847 and the late 1800s. As pointed out later, the rationale and meaning behind the Mormon village is subject to academic debate. The existence of a distinct region of nucleated settlements established by Mormon colonists, however, is readily apparent.

In *Mormon Country,* the setting for many of Wallace Stegner's chapters is the Mormon village. Chapters such as "Looking Backward," "Meet me at the Ward House," "Mormon Trees," and "Myth and Legend" describe aspects of Mormon life that are necessarily placed in the many Mormon villages throughout the region.

Stegner's attention to the association between people and place, especially 19th century Mormons and the village, is apparent in his descriptions of daily life in the Mormon culture region. Stegner directly addresses the Mormon village in the chapter, "That Lieth Four Square." In this chapter, Stegner describes the repetitive occurrence of the Mormon village throughout the region. Stegner draws an important connection between the Mormon village and Joseph Smith's City of Zion Plat. While direct association between the City of Zion Plat and the Mormon village is disputed by more recent scholarship, Stegner's larger point is that the Mormon village was not just a result of cultural adjustment to an arid climate or a defense against Native attacks. The Mormon village was the result of implementation of religious ideas and practices such as communitarianism, social cohesion, and the building of Zion that were practically unique to Mormons in the American West during the last half of the 19th century. Stegner lyrically states, "The Mormon Village wasn't a village at all.... it is a symbol of the group consciousness and the group planning that enabled saints to settle and break country so barren to look at that John Bridger said he would give a thousand dollars if he knew a bushel of corn could be grown there" (29). Interestingly, Stegner not only touches upon the ideological underpinning of the Mormon village, but also the economic ones, especially in his inclusion of agricultural practices.

An additional observation made by Stegner concerning the Mormon village that should be considered is the relationship between the ideological and the pragmatic in the early Mormon Church. "The social vision and shrewdness which planned the Mormon town represents, like many things in Mormon Country, a collaboration between Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.... Joseph furnished the vision, and Brigham the practical organization" (Stegner 1970, 27-28). This duality is expressed in the Mormon village, which was simultaneously to be a product of a theology that stipulated the literal building of heaven on earth, Zion, for the second coming of Christ and at the same time the practical task of settling and establishing a viable economic and political sanctuary for the Saints.

While departing from his usual his topical, the LDS historian Leonard Arrington saw the Mormon village as being created for the purposes of economic self-sufficiency, the maintenance of social organizations, and the fulfillment theological ideals. In *Great Basin Kingdom* Arrington places the Mormon village as one of seven economic ideals of the 19th century Mormon Church. Arrington cites the New England village and the City of Zion Plat as being adaptable guides to the settlement of the Mormon West during the late 1800s. In his description of the Mormon village, Arrington lists a number of benefits the village provided its residents:

> It provided security against Indians; facilitated cooperative efficiency by placing the members of the community in ready touch with directing officers

> of the group; made possible the maintenance of religious, educational, and other social institutions; permitted effective irrigation culture; and assured, in general, a highly organized community life. (24-25)

Church leaders actively encouraged the formation of village and village life. Brigham Young and other Church leaders spoke of the inherent benefits of agrarian activities and prompted Church members to settle in villages for many of the reasons Arrington mentions in the above quote. A letter from a member of the Church leadership in 1859 addressed the favorable qualities of Mormon village life:

> In all cases in making new settlements the Saints should be advised to gather together in villages, as been our custom from the time of our earliest settlement in these mountain valleys. The advantages of this plan, instead of carelessly scattering about out over a wide extent of country are, many and obvious to all those who have a desire to serve the Lord.(quoted in Peterson 1978, 92)

Not only did the village receive support from Church leaders, but formal Church polices regarding land ownership and stewardship made the village with its "small intensively farmed holdings" the preferred method of settlement (Arrington 1958, 93). Young encouraged farming and agrarian activities over mining, livestock ranching, and other activities that were seen as a hindrance to building up a desirable society. "It is better for us to live in peace and good order, and to raise wheat, corn, potatoes and fruit, than to suffer the evils of mining life, and do no more than make a living at last" (Young, quoted in Arrington 1958, 242).

Despite the push toward agrarian activities by Mormon leaders, the Church actively sought to develop a number of industries and occasionally a mining operation. Arrington makes the point that, "The village would not necessarily be an agricultural village – usually it would include mining and manufacturing enterprises as well –but it would be a self–sufficient village" (Arrington 1958, 24). This assertion of "village" self-sufficiency isn't elaborated, but it follows Arrington's thesis in many of his works, making an argument that the Mormon Church was attempting to build a self-sufficient society for both economic and theological reasons. Arrington's statement that the village was ideally supposed to be self-sufficient is vague. Does Arrington mean the Mormon village strove for internal self-sufficiency, perhaps similar to the United Order towns created in the late 1800s? Or does he imply that these villages would be part of a highly integrated economic system that was holistically striving for self-sufficiency until the late 1800s when the Mormon Church began to abandon its home industry enterprises? This ambiguity raises important questions regarding the meaning of self-sufficiency in the Mormon culture region and the roles the Mormon village plays in attempts at achieving it. Was the ideal Mormon village an internally self-sufficient and economically isolated town, or was it meant to be a part of a larger network of villages that would create a self-sufficient society for Mormon society during the late 1800s? These questions bear especially strongly on some of the communities, set at the distant fringe of the

Mormon realm, which (like Panaca) were literally marginal to the core of Mormon development.

The Mormon village and the Mormon culture region that Arrington is concerned with in *Great Basin Kingdom* and other works is the Mormon village of the 19th century. The 20th century Mormon village has generally been described as being in a state of decline. Many watchers today see the Mormon village as a relic of 19th century Mormonism. Its gradual disappearance or accommodation to other types of land use demonstrates the major changes in the religious and economic characteristics of the region. Charles Peterson documents many of the other changes in the rural landscapes of Utah that have encroached upon the Mormon village such as dry-farming and homesteading. Peterson's conclusion, similar to others, is that the Mormon village is evidence of a past era of colonization that has, "Like erosion, left a lasting mark" (Peterson 1978, 97).

The contexts, roles, and reason for the existence of the Mormon village have obviously changed since the era of Mormon colonization. The watershed point for the Mormon village appears to be during the late 1890s when a number of factors, namely the end of Church sponsored colonization, contributed to its fall from ideal settlement type to cultural relic. A contemporary look at a how the historical relics of the Mormon colonization have mixed with ongoing modern changes is the J.B. Jackson Award-winning book *Sanpete Scenes: A Guide to Utah's Heart* by Lowell

Bennion and Gary Peterson published in 1987. Laden with photos and graphics, *Sanpete Scenes* articulately illustrates many aspects of history and contemporary life in the Utah's Sanpete Valley where the classic Mormon village has been altered in varying degrees.

The reasons for and ramifications of these changes can be addressed by looking into the changing landscape of Panaca. To do so I examine a number of studies that have looked closely at the places and spaces of the Mormon village in historical and contemporary time. Doing so provides a baseline to address the cultural landscape of Panaca. The material landscape of Panaca also alludes to changing social, political, and economic circumstances in the American West.

The Landscape of the Mormon Village

While authors such as Stegner and Arrington comment on the role of the Mormon village in broader historical and contemporary contexts, scholars since have focused a good bit of attention on the cultural landscape of the Mormon village. Many of the material attributes of traditional Mormon villages are thrown about by observers of Utah and the Mormon culture region, but far fewer have attempted to formally address the landscape elements of the Mormon village.

One of the earlier pieces on the landscape of the Mormon village is Joseph Geddes's article "Modification of the Early Utah Farm Village." Published in 1942, the Geddes's article spells out a number of features common to Mormon villages:

> 1. Wide streets running parallel, north-south and east-west, usually 6 to 8 rods in width. 2. Square blocks containing ether 5 or 10 acres.... All inhabitants, both farmers and non-farmers, lived in the village. 3. One full block near the center of the village was reserved as a public square....4. Trees were planted around the public square and on the outside line of the side-walks where a small ditch of irrigating water ran to supply the shade trees and as a source of water for the gardens, orchard tress and lawns within the lots. 5. On or near the public square were the church and the school, with the store not far away. 6. Extending from the village to the nearest mountain stream was the canal or canals which carried life giving water to the farms around the compactly settled area. (15)

Geddes's concern in the article is on a number of common modifications to the Mormon village such as new housing and farms outside the nucleated village along highways or other roads. Principally, the author's concern is with the problems created by these changes. Perhaps viewing the Mormon village nostalgically Geddes states, " Undoubtedly the original farm village pattern was a contribution to good living" (17). Lamenting the failure in town planning in Utah since Brigham Young's death, Geddes sees the abandonment of the village by some as a particularly costly change due to the additional infrastructure needed, namely roads and water, to accommodate these newer developments. Interestingly, Geddes's solution to the problem is to develop a long lot-system for those residents moving outside the original village layout. Importantly, Geddes's establishes a

number of characteristics that existed in the Mormon villages and documents typical modifications to settlement patterns around the village, that presumably occurred during the early 1900s.

A more influential and in-depth piece on the Mormon village in Lowery Nelson's *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement.* Published in 1952, Nelson's book builds upon his earlier work, including his master's thesis on Esacalante, Utah, his Ph.D. dissertation *The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins,* and other publications that further examined the Mormon village, particularly the spatial patterns of housing and farms in each village. The 1952 publication not only provides versions of these earlier studies from the 1920s and 1930s, but also revisits his study area to provide an update on how Mormon villages in Utah, such as Escalante, Ephraim, and American Fork.

Nelson sees the traditional Mormon village in the West of mid-century as a result of the convergence of the following influences: "1. The plan of the 'City of Zion.' 2. The development of extraordinary group solidarity. 3. The favorable environment of the Great Basin" (53). According to Nelson, each of these three influences served a slightly different purpose in the emergence of the Mormon village. The Plat of the City of Zion was the ideological inspiration, although not the blueprint for the Mormon village. Nelson points out a number of historical characteristics in which the Plat was conceived by Church leaders in 1833. The

implementation of the plan is largely due to Nelson's second influence: group solidarity. The combination of strong leadership and religious solidarity led to the village being somewhat easily perpetuated by leadership during the Church's colonizing efforts. The village was adopted and maintained by settlers due to its advantages over other settlement forms at the time in the environment of the Great Basin.

Methodologically, Nelson concentrates on a multitude of factors in his studies of Mormon villages. In his exploration of Escalante and Ephraim, Utah, Nelson touches upon a number of each village's attributes, such as the initial reason for its settlement, historical lines of communication, settlement patterns, a number of demographic measures, and other statistics. His focus on certain geographical features such as land ownership, housing patterns, and lot size are particularly telling of the distinct landscape of Mormon villages. While Nelson's broad descriptions of each town are themselves valuable, his use of geographic variables as measures of cultural change can appropriately be applied to other Mormon villages. Nelson provides one of a number of city block land use models, settlement pattern maps, and telling aerial photos illustrating important geographic patterns common to Mormon villages (see Fig. 3.1 and 3.2).

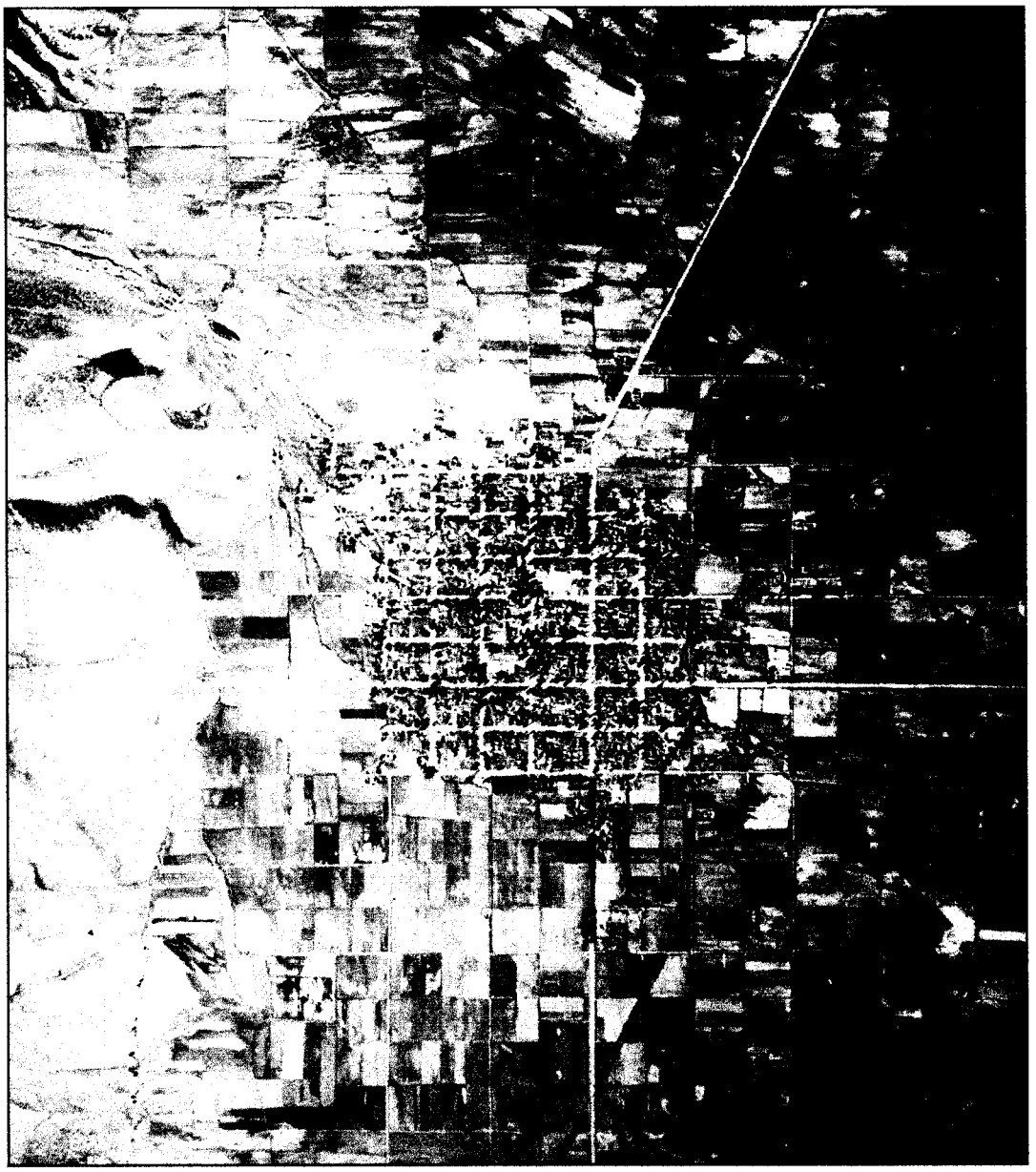

Fig. 3.1 Air view of Ephraim, Utah. The photo, most likely from the late 1940s, illustrates a number of features of the classic Mormon village such as a grid-iron street pattern, the nucleated settlement of the town, and the surrounding agricultural land use. From Lowery Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement*, Appendix photo L.

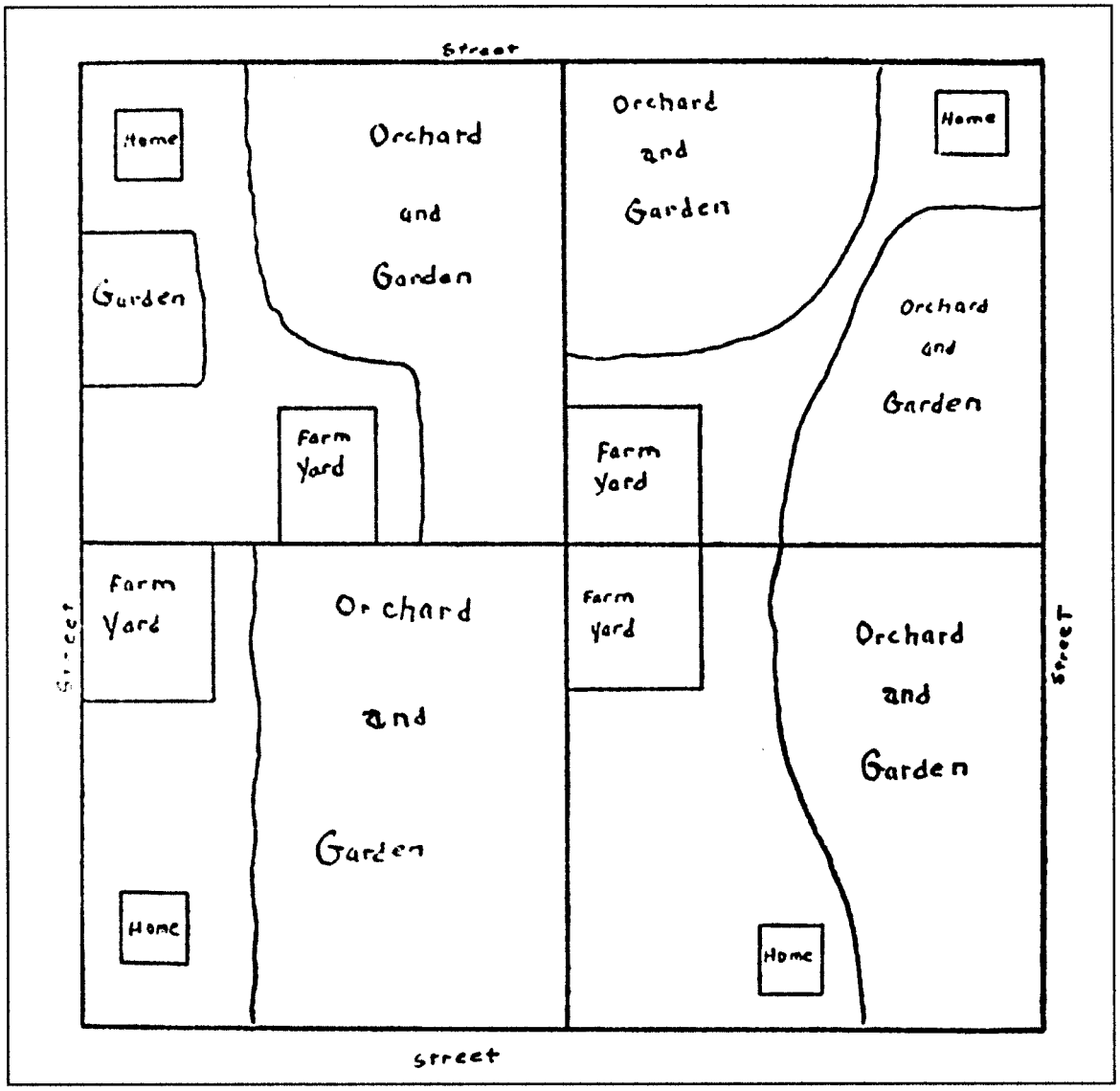

Fig. 3.2 Land use model drawn by Lowery Nelson based on his research of Escalante, Utah, during the early 1920s. The figure depicts a typical block found in the classic Mormon village. Noteworthy features include the placement of the homes on the outer corner of the block and lots, the splitting of the block into four equal lots, and the prevalence of in town agricultural land uses. From Lowery Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement*, 89.

The work of Lynn Rosenvall, as exemplified in his article "Mormon Settlement Plats: Their Design and Origin" and his Ph.D. dissertation *Mormon Settlement Patterns, 1830-1930,* builds upon Nelson's work. Rosenvall incorporates more towns than Nelson did into his research. Rosenvall's principal concern is to point out that Mormon villages in general do not follow narrow settlement plans, and, notably, their landscapes vary greatly in a number of ways including their street patterns, town size, lot size, and number of lots per block. This variation leads Rosenvall to assert that the Mormon village was much more a result of New England and other American cultural influences and ideals than distinctly Mormon ones—specifically the Plat of the City of Zion that Nelson had emphasized.

Richard Francaviglia's geographical book, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West* examines the varied material landscape of the Mormon village, including such features as hay-derricks, in-town barns, architectural styles, grid-patterned streets, and central public squares. Francaviglia focuses on the rural Mormon landscape, which he considers distinct and recognizable thanks to landscape similarities across the Mormon culture region. Almost a work of the quantitative period of geography, his study compiles numbers of traits, and attempts to generate specific numbers for broad sets of traits. He illustrates many of these features existing in towns away from the urbanized Wasatch front that were settled before 1900. Ultimately, Francaviglia, like Nelson,

sees the Plat of the City of Zion and the dominance of early Church leaders in the colonization of the Mormon culture region as being the principal influences in the creation of Mormon villages. Under Francaviglia's analysis, the Mormon village fostered tight social cohesion among members and built an appropriate landscape for the return of Christ, which many 19th century Mormons considered imminent.

While Francaviglia's analysis and models of Mormon villages is subject to criticism for being overly static and trait-based, his documentation of features common to Mormon villages are useful in establishing what an ideal Mormon village might look like. His emphasis on material landscapes, while limiting, can be built upon when looking at other village landscapes, particularly Mormon ones. In his idealized Mormon village of Canaanville, Francaviglia provides a clean list of landscape features that indicate what one would expect to find in a traditional Mormon village including block models and town plots (see Fig. 3.4 and 3.5).

Francaviglia's interpretation of the Mormon village is challenged by the Brigham Young University geographer Richard Jackson's research. Sharing observations with other workers, Jackson concludes that while there is a high degree of variability among Mormon villages in terms of their landscape elements, there are still a number of common attributes shared between Mormon villages. Jackson lists these five characteristics of Mormon villages:

> 1. Regular grid pattern oriented as close to north and south as the settlers could manage with their crude instruments in their possession. 2. Streets

> which are generally wider than those found in non-Mormon villages. 3. Main streets and side streets which are usually the same width. 4. Extremely large blocks which are four acres or larger in size. 5. Lots which dwarf typical lots in non-Mormon villages. (Jackson 1976, 140)

Jackson asserts that while the town patterns show similarities, in some ways, among the many Mormon communities, the contexts from which these towns were planned, surveyed, and settled was much broader than anything called for by Church doctrine, "specifically the City of Zion master plan" (Jackson 1976, 140). Jackson sees the typical Mormon village in the Mormon culture region as being the product of certain trends in early 19th century America that Church leaders were influenced by, which Jackson describes as a "New England milieu" (Jackson 1977, 230; Wood 1997). Jackson's linking of the Mormon village to the New England village is similar to the work of Rosenvall. The New England village landscape that these authors are referring to is well illustrated in Joseph Woods's 1997 work *The New England Village.*

The basic question presented in Richard Jackson's work is this: To what degree is the landscape of the Mormon village a reflection of the unique religious characteristics of the Mormon Church, and to what degree was the Mormon village a product of the larger social and cultural trends of 19th century America? Jackson's conclusion is that the Mormon village of the 19th century was a product of larger and widespread ideas of what communities and settlements should be like, and thus were similar to many other towns that were being established during the same time

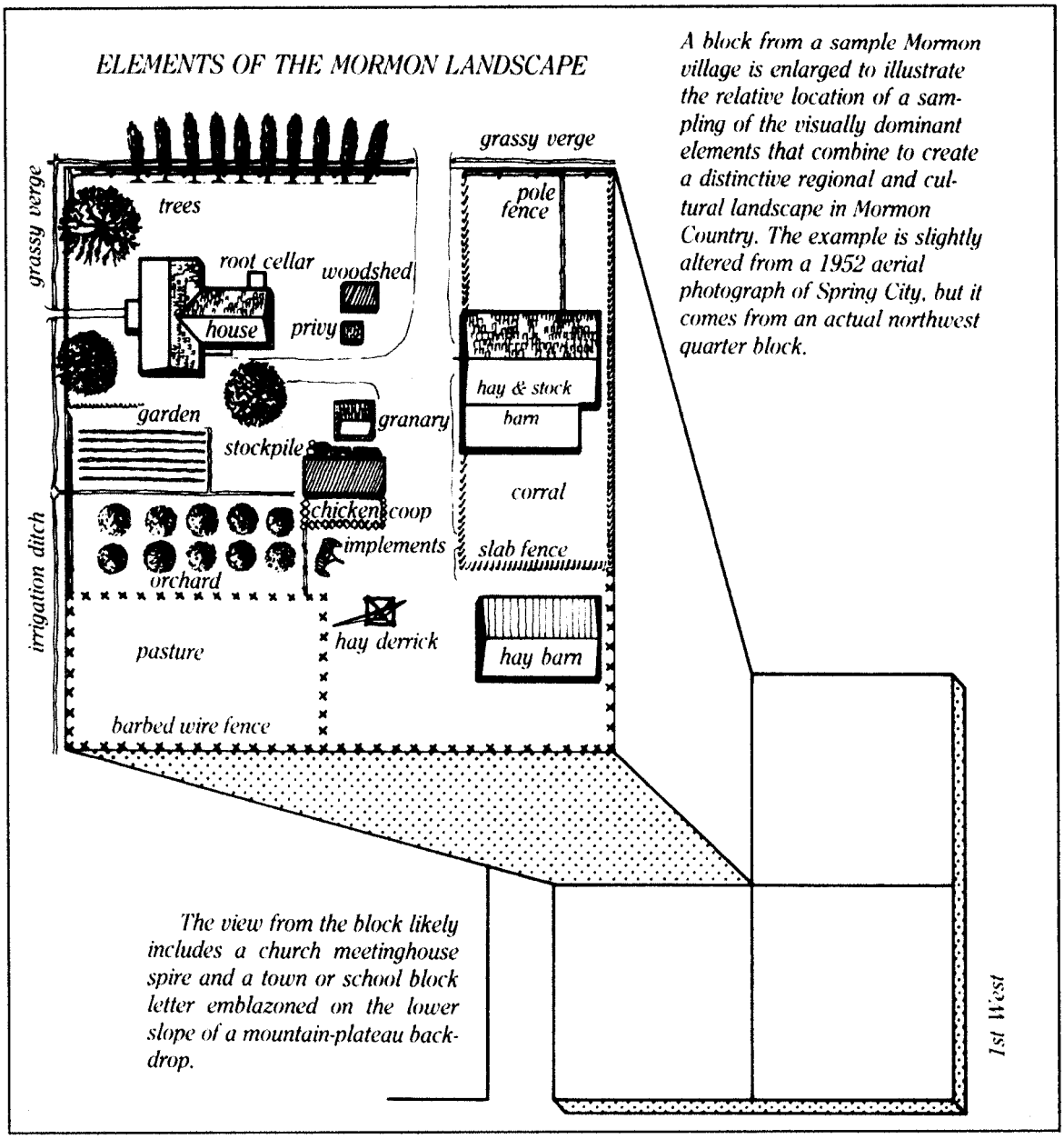
ELEMENTS OF THE MORMON LANDSCAPE
A block from a sample Mormon village is enlarged to illustrate the relative location of a sampling of the visually dominant elements that combine to create a distinctive regional and cultural landscape in Mormon Country. The example is slightly altered from a 1952 aerial photograph of Spring City, but it comes from an actual northwest quarter block.
grassy verge
trees
root cellar
woodshed
house
privy
garden
granary
stockpile
chicken coop
implements
orchard
pasture
hay derrick
barbed wire fence
irrigation ditch
grassy verge
pole fence
hay & stock barn
corral
slab fence
hay barn
The view from the block likely includes a church meetinghouse spire and a town or school block letter emblazoned on the lower slope of a mountain-plateau backdrop.
1st West

Fig. 3.3 A land use model of a block in a Mormon village created by Gary Peterson. Although more detailed than Nelson's block model, this figure illustrates many of the same telling characteristics of the classic Mormon village such as equal lot size, four lots to a block, the placement of the house on the outside corner of the block, and the array of small scale agricultural activities within the residential spaces of the town. From Gary Peterson and Lowell Bennion, *Sanpete Scenes: A Guide to Utah's Heart*, 73.

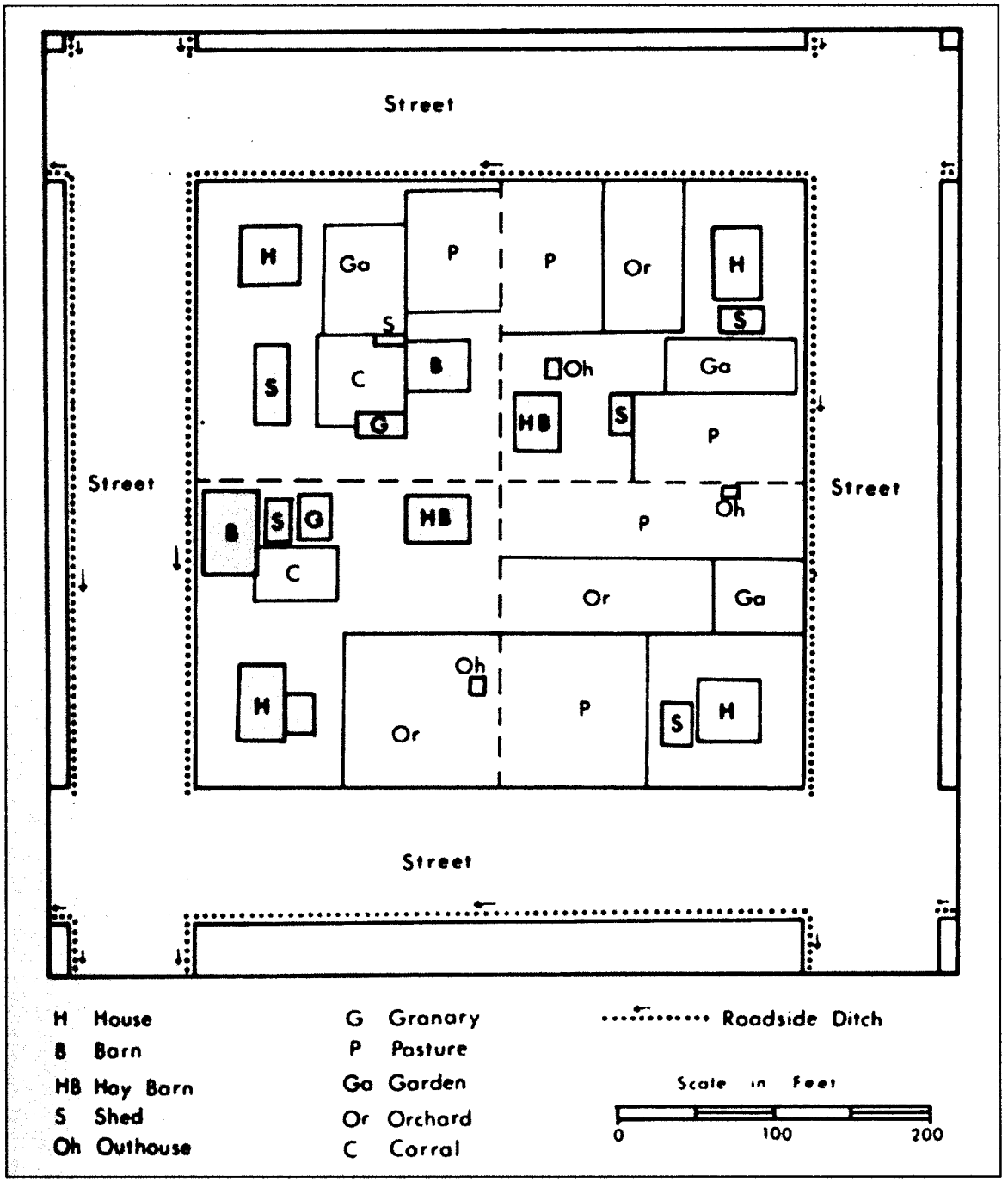

Fig. 3.4 Francaviglia's land use model of a block in the classic Mormon village. Like Peterson's model Francaviglia focuses on the traditional aspects of residential spaces instead of incorporating the ongoing modifications and transformation of the Mormon village that were sure to be happening during his field work of the late 1960s. From Richard Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West*, 19.

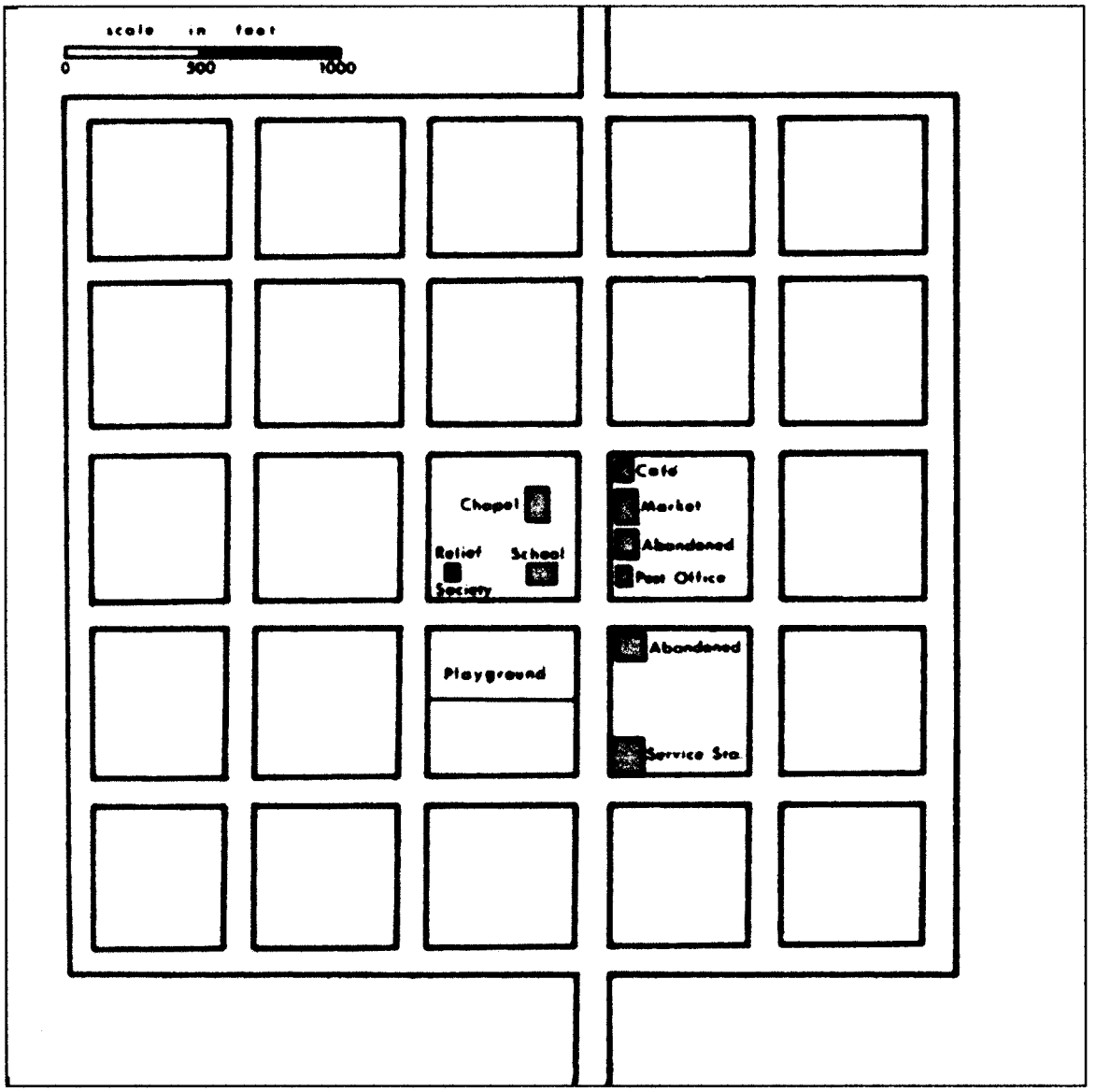

Fig. 3.5 Francaviglia's model of the layout of a typical Mormon village. Note the public square with both religious and education buildings and the adjacent small business district. From Richard Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West*, 20.

period in other parts of the country. The apparent uniqueness of the landscape of the Mormon village is its appearance in the Great Basin, away from similar settlements in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys. The implementation of landscape features of the Mormon village was largely due to the influence of broader Jeffersonian ideals upon Church leaders and Church members and not a result of distinctly Mormon ideals or the City of Zion Plat. Jackson sums up this stance when he states, "The presence of the village system creates a unique landscape in the West, but its roots are primarily Jeffersonian, not Mormon" (1978, 126).

As articulated in two articles by Jackson in "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan" and "Religion and Landscape in the Mormon Culture Region" the Mormon village was an effective way in which to establish and reinforce the Jeffersonian ideal of the yeoman farmer. The Mormon village was a "clustering of micro-farms" that would ensure that residents would embody the prized Jeffersonian ideals and ethics of rural life while providing "the cultural advantages and intellectual advantages of community life" (Jackson 1978, 107). The prevalence of large blocks and agrarian activities within the Mormon village were representative of this adherence to and reverence for Jeffersonian agrarian ideals of agrarian communities (Jackson 1977).

Jackson points out that only in the most rural areas do the remaining features of the Mormon village persist. Many of these features in the urban areas of Utah

have been obliterated due to urbanization. The remaining features of Mormon villages that Francaviglia and other have pointed out are according to Jackson "cultural relics." Broad streets, in-town agrarian activities, large lots, and other features of the Mormon village are remnants of "Mormons' attempt to relocate the village life of the semiarid West" (Jackson 1978, 126). Under Jackson's analysis, the landscape of the traditional Mormon village is practical when examining the 19th century ideals that led to its creation and the rapidly changing circumstances such as urbanization and modernization which has lead to its decline.[1]

Francaviglia wrote a short follow article up to *The Mormon Village* titled "The Passing Mormon Village," where he takes on a number of criticisms by Jackson and others about his work. Another counter to Jackson's work is found in William Norton's article "Mormon Identity and Landscape in the Intermountain West." The relatively uniform town pattern found in the Mormon culture region of towns founded between 1847 and 1900 is often interpreted as the physical representation of Mormon doctrine, cultural homogeneity, and strict religious adherence to the direction of Brigham Young and other Church leaders. William Norton best represents this position, "Mormon settlements are distinctive as a result of a distinctive Mormon character" (Norton 1998, 40). In other words, the classic Mormon village of the Mormon culture region is a direct result of the unique religious circumstances of Mormons and the Mormon Church. The Church created a

uniform region where it would ideally have full political and cultural control—Zion. This of course, runs counter to Jackson's assertions that the Mormon village was the manifestation of New England and Jeffersonian ideals in the Great Basin.

Arguments and Perspectives

When addressing the landscape of the Mormon village a number of arguments concerning its origins, implementation, rationale, maintenance and existence emerge. As stated by William Norton, "To suggest that a particular group identity, in this case a quite distinctive identity, impacts on the process of settlement and on the resultant visible landscape is to enter into an important debate in cultural geography" (1998, 36). Specifically, it appears that a central debate regarding the Mormon village concerns the degree to which the Mormon Church controlled and influenced its creation and maintenance. As Francaviglia discusses, the researchers who downplay the impact of religion and the City of Zion Plat on the Mormon village tend to be members of the Mormon Church, while those who place more emphasis on religion tend not to be members of the Mormon Church. This disagreement concerning the role of the Mormon Church in the creation of Mormon village is clearly not one to be indisputably settled. For this thesis, it is appropriate to consider that both sides have provided valuable insights to the relationships between Mormonism and the Mormon village. The Jackson camp places the impetus

for the Mormon village on shared values of agrarianism and Jeffersonian ethics while Francaviglia and Norton see the Mormon village as being fundamentally the result of the cultural characteristics of 19th century Mormonism.

Noticeably, many of the characterizations of Mormon villages have been primarily focused on a number of themes. First, studies of the Mormon village landscape have focused on historical features associated with the 19th century Mormon village landscape. Second, the past studies concentrate on agrarian features. While a few authors make references to landscape of businesses and commerce the full analysis of the historical Mormon village focuses on agrarian, religious, and other public spaces but not on business features. When mentioned they are typically regarded as the exception in the Mormon village or as a sign of the existing or encroaching Americanization of the Mormon culture region. Third, research has been concerned with looking for social and cultural influences in explaining the historical Mormon village. While the focus on agrarian activities could perhaps be considered a discussion of village economics, the manner in which it is discussed tends to view agrarian activities in terms of their social or cultural importance not their economic function in the larger region.

Keeping these common themes in mind my own research addresses the questions and issues raised by past studies on the Mormon villages. My own study does take in fundamental landscape elements of the Mormon village such as street

patterns, block and lots size, land use, and village aesthetics. Additionally, given the lack of integration of detailed economic and political contexts into the work on the Mormon village my examination of the landscapes of Panaca will attempt to integrate local and regional economic and political factors as well as social and cultural influences.

With an examination of the so-called relic or initial landscapes of Panaca, I will piece together the landscape of Panaca as it existed upon establishment during the 1860s and 1870s. By tracing how this landscape originated and transformed I hope to demonstrate that the landscape of Panaca represents not just social and religious ideals but also specific economic and political roles within the framework of the Mormon Church's economic efforts and organization.

I then will document features in the contemporary landscape of Panaca that stand in juxtaposition to the establishment landscape of the late 1800s. Documenting the appearance of sub-divisions, ranch houses, and other material features not associated with the traditional Mormon village will illustrate not only the economic changes in Panaca, but also how these changes are being built upon still relevant religious and social institutions.

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[1] Although not integrated in this thesis, Jackson's chapter entitled "Mormon Wests: the Creation and Evolution of an American Region" in *Western Places, American Myths: How We Think About the West* published in 2003 further addressed a number of themes associated with the Mormon village.

Chapter 4

Panaca's Original Village Landscape: Origins and Existence

> At times it seems as though all hell and earth are combined to keep money out of my hands. (Brigham Young, quoted in Taylor 1978, 108).
>
> The people who settled Panaca were not reckless adventures nor greedy fortune hunters. They were moved by the noblest incentives to build a community that would credit their Church. (*A Century in Meadow Valley: 1864-1964*, 1966).

Fundamental differences between the material landscape of Panaca and those of neighboring communities can be traced to economic and social origins. Each community in this remote area of eastern Nevada was seemingly a product of different circumstances, particularly social-economic ones. Panaca's settlement, if interpreted under the predominant views of Mormon history, was a part of an organized effort by the nineteenth century Mormon Church to build a place for the Latter-day Saints to gather in preparation for the Millennium — a presumed blossoming of Zion. As rarely as scholars are ever of one mind, it can be said with confidence there is broad agreement that across fifty years, Mormon colonization of the American West from the late 1840s until the 1890s created a remarkably distinctive landscape, one commonly referred to as the Mormon village.

What this landscape meant, why it was replicated, how it was maintained, and why it has disappeared at variable rates are each themes subject to much debate.

To argue whether the Mormon village was a product of transplanted Jeffersonianism; a recast New England Village; a neoclassical restatement of nature; or a unique expression of Mormon utopian ideals, is to invoke a debate certainly not likely to be settled here. What Panaca does present is an opportunity to explore the landscape of a particular Mormon Village, and one operating at the western limit of the Mormon culture region. This chapter reconstructs parts of Panaca's initial Mormon village landscape and documents how some of these features have survived, while others have changed. Doing so in some ways affirms many of the past observations and analyses of the Mormon village and Mormonism of the late 1800s.

Panaca's geographic situation, though, departs just enough from the norm to raise questions. Its proximity to mining activity and its unexpected inclusion in Nevada makes it unlike its Village counterparts in the interior parts of the Mormon culture region. And the community's service as an economic (especially agricultural) service town for the mining booms of the region raises questions about the Mormon village as an ideological and religious center, and equally so, about its role as an economic linchpin. Unlike past landscape studies of the Mormon village that emphasized the religious, agrarian, and self-sufficient aspects of the Mormon village, I hope to entangle these factors with some of the particular historic economic circumstances and networks that were present during Panaca's early years when the

town's residents established Panaca's first effective settlement features. Incorporating context into an understanding of the Mormon village of the 1800s will demonstrate that Panaca was not only a result of religious and cultural factors, but even more, of momentous economic and political ones.

Village Antecedents

The initial settlement of Panaca was a part of the extension of Mormon organized settlement from southwestern Utah into surrounding realms. During the 1850s, the area now known as Dixie began to be settled by Mormon colonists. Some of the earlier settlements in what is now Washington County were towns such as Santa Clara, Washington, Toquerville, and Tonaquint. The settlers of these towns experimented with growing crops such as cotton, grapes, tobacco, fruit, and other products that were better suited for southern Utah's desert climate. By the late 1850s, cotton, wine, and diverse goods were being produced in Utah's Dixie. As part of the broad colonization effort, Brigham Young called numerous parties to not only settle new towns in the region, but to also fortify populations in newly founded corners of Zion. Despite these calls to settlement, on his 1861 visit to the region Young noted that many settlements had few inhabitants. For example Washington had half the population in 1861 it had in 1857. Harsh conditions and diseases such as malaria made these settlements especially difficult for the new settlers.

After his reconnaissance trip, Young organized the Cotton Mission during the fall 1861 session of the Mormon Church's biannual General Conference in Salt Lake City. Young publicly called a number of families to settle new towns of the Mission. In all, Young called over 300 men, most the heads of families, to build up the population of the existing towns and to settle the new city of St. George. Built near the convergence of the Santa Clara and Virgin rivers, St. George was designated and designed to be the regional capital, and was home to the first temple completed after the 1847 exodus to the Great Basin. St. George was also to become Brigham Young's winter home (Fig. 4.1). One of the original members called to settle St. George was Francis Lee, living then in Tooele, Utah, before being called by Young to settle St. George. Three years later, Lee and members of his family would be members of the first party to settle Panaca (Larson, 1961; A *Century in Meadow Valley*, 1966).

The months in the winter of 1863 and the spring of 1864 leading up to the arrival of the settlers to establish Panaca saw a flurry of activity, particularly involving mining interests in and around the Meadow Valley. The actual events of that spring are slightly different depending of the historical account. Like many mining claims in Nevada and the West, the claims around present day Panaca and Pioche were disputed. It seems clear, though, that during the winter of 1863-64, a Paiute led William Hamblin, then living in Gunlock, north of Santa Clara, Utah, to outcroppings of silver ore near the present day town of Pioche. Late in the spring of

1864, Hamblin and a group of gentile prospectors that included Stephen Sherwood and N.J. Vandermark established initial mining claims. Other gentile members of Sherwood's group then traveled to Salt Lake City for supplies and to have the ore assayed. During their absence from the region Church leader Erastus Snow, then president of the Cotton Mission, directed Santa Clara resident Daniel Bonelli to visit the Meadow Valley claims and make a report to Brigham Young and other Church leaders on the mining activities. Bonelli, with his education and experience in geology and metallurgy, made a full report to Church leaders that included detailed maps of the area and concern about the Church members tentative hold on the claims (Larson 1961; Bourne 1973; Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission").

During the spring, Hamblin, along with a number of other families, had moved to Clover Valley, just south of present day Panaca. Among the settlers of Clover Valley was Dudley Leavitt, who had lived in Gunlock with Hamblin and had been part of the mining directed Potosi mission near Las Vegas in the early 1850s. Adding to that spring's activity in the area were the California Volunteers, who were also covetously interested in exploiting local mining claims (Larson 1961; Bourne 1973).

On May 6th the families of Francis Lee and James Matthews arrived from St. George and Pine Valley to settle Meadow Valley. Although it is unclear who directed these families to settle the area, a pair of sources argue that these families

were specifically called by Church leaders to settle the Meadow Valley (Hinton 2001, 13; *A Century in Meadow Valley* 1966, 151). Considering the amount of activity and concern given the area by Church leaders, the initial settlement hardly seemed an inevitable outcome of population pressures or the product of independent Jeffersonian farmers looking to tame the frontier. Instead, the initial settlement of Panaca was the result of specific and intentional economic and political circumstances, which propelled the Mormon leaders to direct members to establish new settlements. A broader claim that the Church planted new colonies for political and economic reasons is hardly new to historians, but has been given peripheral treatment in favor of social and cultural reasons by those looking at the landscape of the Mormon village.

In late May, a group of a few men including Erastus Snow and county surveyor Israel Ivins visited the new settlers in Meadow Valley (which either numbered eighteen or six families, depending on the source). Snow advised the settlers that they should not scatter their settlements, but instead that they should find a route east to Iron County, and that they should "build up a clean thriving respectable town" before seeking any riches form the near by mining claims. A notable distaste among Mormon patriarchs for the suspect attractions of mining, when not Church sponsored was therefore both echoed and reinforced in Snow's edict. Noted in Bleak's "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," "A site for the town

was selected and a level taken for a water ditch. It was decided to have the town laid in square blocks, 32 Rods on each side, 4 lots to a Block; Street 5 1/2 rods wide, including 12ft side-walks.... On motion the town location was named Panaca, Indian name for white metal-silver" (171). Although the plans and dimensions were spelled out in 1864, Israel Ivins, Washington County's surveyor who also surveyed St. George and Hiko, did not survey Panaca until 1866 (Fig. 4.2).

Upon his return to St. George, Erastus Snow called twelve additional families to settle Panaca and strengthen the town, and sent John Neeberker, who did not arrive in Panaca until March of 1865, to oversee the new area settlements. In a June 19th letter, Snow informed Brigham Young of the new settlements to the west, including Panaca. Snow's principle concerns in the letter were that gentile and apostate miners were in the area of Meadow Valley and that settlements of the Cotton Mission were in desperate need of bread and other food. Interestingly, Snow comments that he sent a number of men to make mining claims near Panaca. This concern for securing claims was echoed by Young as well in a letter to Edward Bunker concerning the Meadow Valley claims. The conscience effort by Church leaders to advise some Saints to avoid the mines and to appoint others such as William Hamblin and Danielle Bonelli to actively stake claims is one that appeared in other instances in Mormon history locally and in other parts of the West. As John

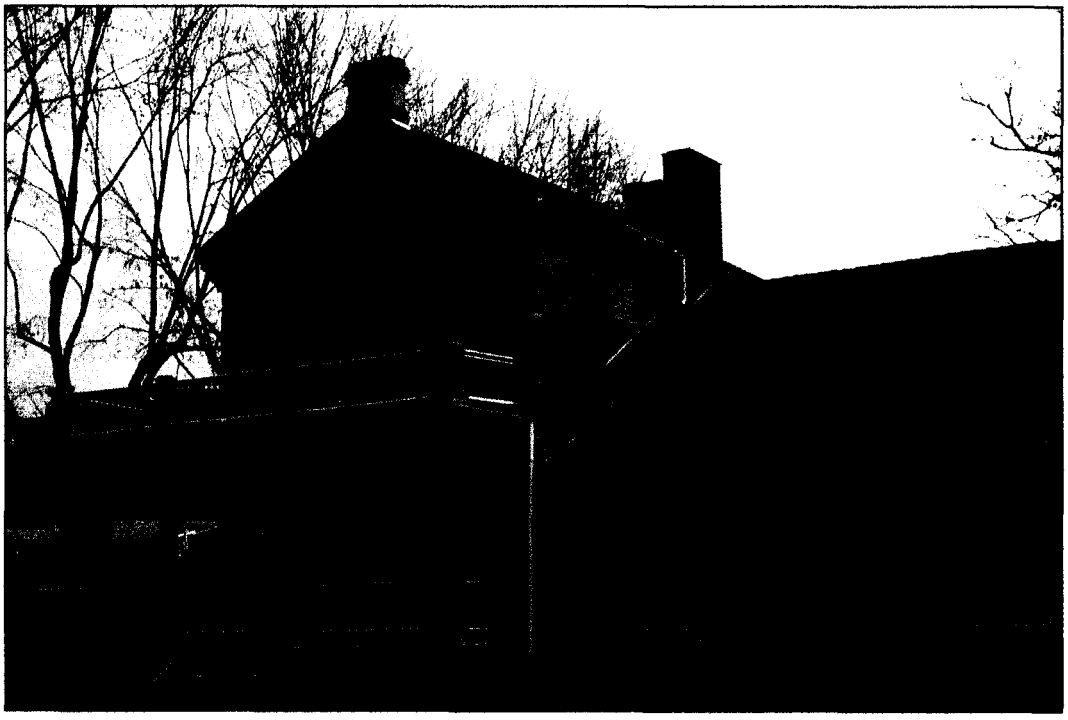

Fig. 4.1 Brigham Young's winter home in St. George, Utah. Now owned by the Mormon Church, it is the cornerstone of St. George's plentiful "heritage" tourism.

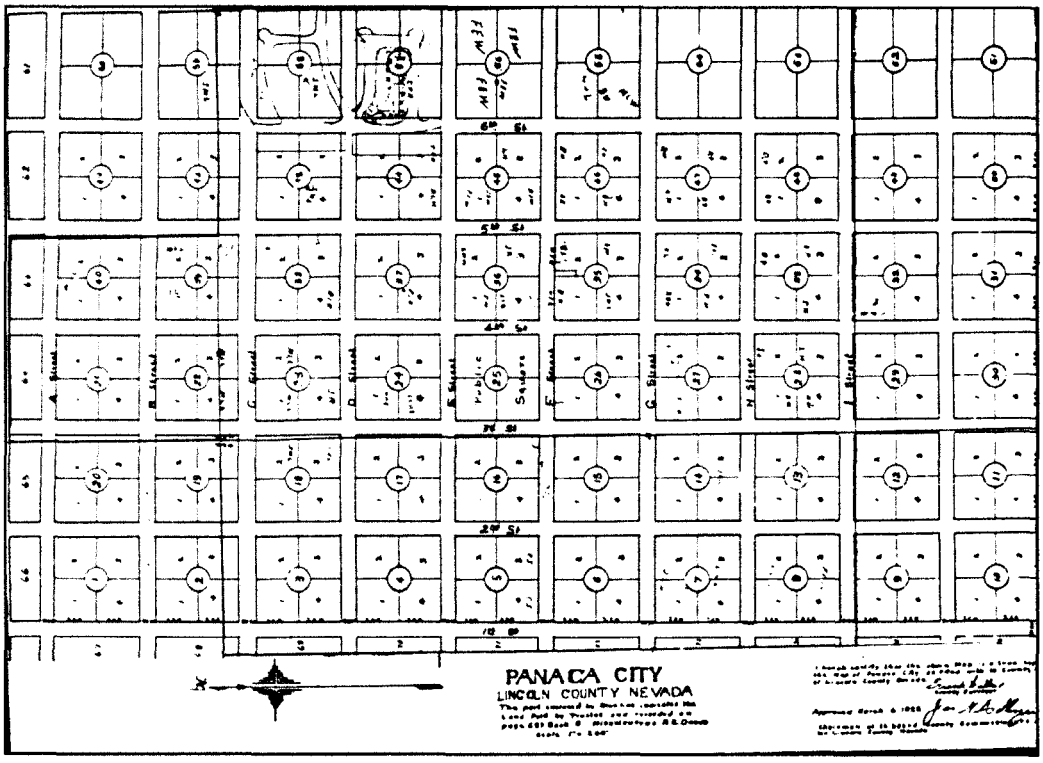

Fig. 4.2 The plat map of Panaca from the county recorders office showing the foundational grid-iron street pattern and the blocks divided into four equal lots.

Bourne observes, "...the gap between stated Mormon Church policy and actual activity carried out with official sanction was sometimes wide" (1973, 11).

Another circumstantial factor in the settlement of Panaca may also have been the food shortages in the Cotton Mission settlements. Unlike St. George, Washington, or Santa Clara, the residents of Panaca would be free from producing non-food items such as cotton and other semi-tropical crops. This not only allowed them to produce for their own subsistence, but it also allowed them to send their food surpluses to the Cotton Mission settlements where they were most needed, and to produce a surplus to trade with local miners.

Like so many new settlers in the Mormon culture region, the first settlers of Panaca did not immediately move onto their lots, which were in all likelihood distributed by a lottery system as was customary in many of the Mormon settlements of 1800s in the West. The original inhabitants built sod houses and later a small fort while planting an initial crops of potatoes, wheat, corn, and alfalfa. (Although now gone, the original fort was located near the intersection of main and second street.) A visitor to the area in the summer of 1864 remarked on the large number of sheep and cattle that the settlers of Panaca had. Even during the first year of Panaca's existence, the residents were supplying local miners with "beef, mutton, eggs, and milk" (*A Century in Meadow Valley* 1966, 6).

A year later Erastus Snow made another trip to Panaca to find only six families still there. The cause of the quick population decline in the year after the town was established is typically traced to conflict between the Mormons and the miners or the Mormons and the local Paiutes. Comments made by Snow may suggest a third factor that contributed to Panaca's early instability. Snow stated that, "for the future, he wished that any man that would go to the Western mines as a miner to be cut off from the Church" (Snow qt. in Larson 1961, 162). The newly opened mines to the west that Snow was most likely referring to were the mines near Hiko in the Pahraganat Valley. This did not mean that the conflict with the miners and Natives were not a cause for people to leave Panaca. There are many references to the conflicts between Native and Mormons, including the frequently repeated story of Grandmother Lee's run in with a group of Paiute men. The trouble between miners and Mormons though was highly selective. While at odds over mining claims, miners and Mormons made alliances a number of times when there were violent conflicts with Natives. For example gentile miners lived at the Panaca fort for safety from the local Paiute during the initial years of settlement and during the late 1860's gentiles and Mormons teamed up a number times to kill local Paiutes (Bleak, 204). During this trip Snow also played the part of town booster encouraging the few residents of Panaca that their town "would be the center of a large population" It is also telling of the Mormon preference for facilitating mining

activity through freighting and selling supplies when Snow mentions that those going to the mines as a miner be cutoff from the Church, leaving the door open for those who wished to cash in on other aspects of the local mining booms (*A Century in Meadow Valley* 1966, 7).

Panaca becomes a Village

By 1867, the residents of Panaca began to build on the surveyed lots, after a process of settling the soil of the town by flooding the lots. According to the Lucile Roberts manuscript, the first non-sod house built away from the fort was built by the Matthews family in 1867. The same manuscript notes that between 1867 and 1870 there were 15 adobe homes built in Panaca (Fig. 4.3). In 1868, the town's original chapel, which still stands at the southeast corner of the central square was built (Fig. 4.4 and 4.5). In July of 1868, Erastus Snow and a party of Church leaders made another of their ritual visits to Panaca. The party was greeted five miles outside of town by a band of Panaca's residents. Bleak notes in the *Annals of the Southern Utah Mission* a number of features which arrived in Panaca that summer such as a new gristmill, saw mill, and schoolhouse. During this visit, they estimated that 40 families lived in Panaca and that the grain and hay crops were favorable.[i] *A Century in Meadow Valley* also mentions that 1868 was a time of a "high level of peace and progress" (8).

Fig. 4.3 An example of one of the many adobe homes in Panaca. This particular one was the Mary and Francis Lee residence, photo taken around 1900. From *A Century in Meadow Valley*, 159.

Fig. 4.4 The original Ward Chapel with wood siding over its adobe construction. From *A Century in Meadow Valley*, 48.

Fig. 4.5 The original chapel with a stucco finish in 2002.

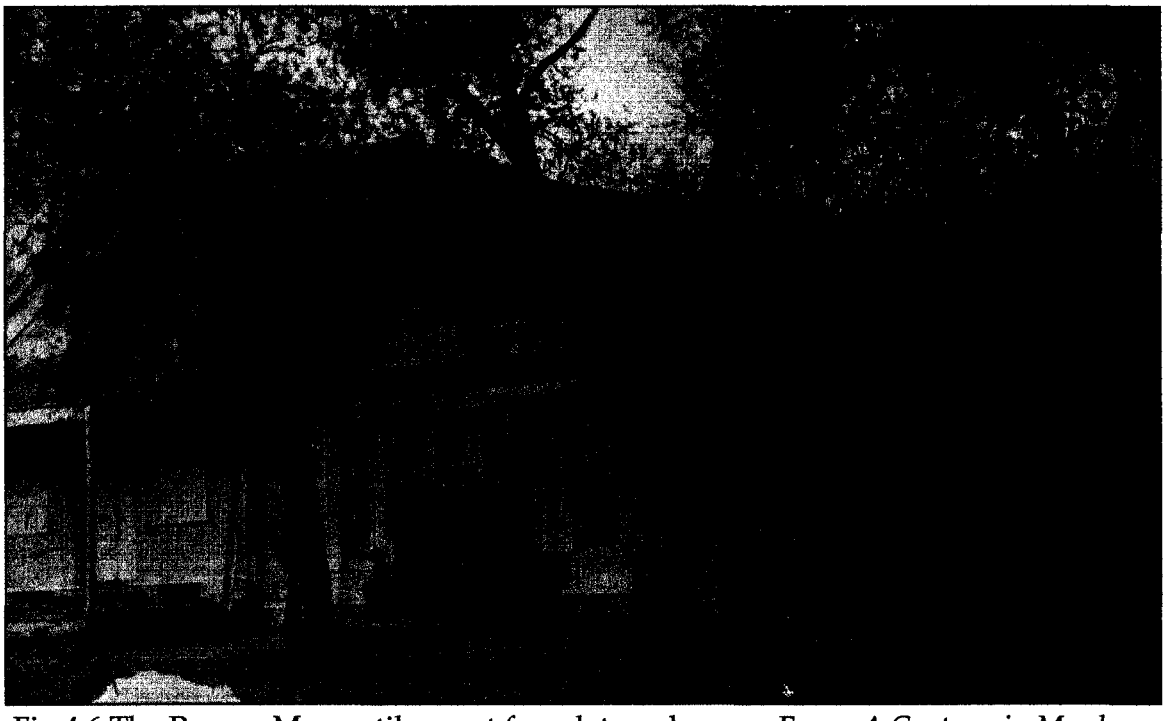

Fig 4.6 The Panaca Mercantile, west face date unknown. From *A Century in Meadow Valley*, 68.

The historical records do not state or speculate on how Panaca went from a town of six families in the summer of 1866 to over forty families in 1868, but one factor would be the favorable business climate due to the mining activity in the Hiko area during these early years. The Panaca Ward record notes, "People Derive considerable revenue by selling hay and vegetables to [miners], also by freighting." residents were doing good business selling produce and other foodstuffs to the miners of the area. John Townley also affirms Panaca's emerging role as a funnel town in supplying the mines by noting that the Hiko area mines were a market for the agricultural products of southern Utah. Another factor was the noted decline in problems with local Native American populations. A remark made in the Panaca ward record in 1869 states that, "pursuing a conciliatory, yet, firm course with the natives, they have come to recognize us as their friend." This "firm" stance included a number of killings, which apparently seemed justified to local settlers.

Additionally, Panaca's role as a supplier of food and materials became immediate in 1868 as well when the mines at Pioche were further developed. In May of 1868, Mormon farmers paid by Pioche prospector John Ely moved the five-stamp mill from Pahraganat to a site a couple miles northeast of Panaca. The site the mill was moved to would become the ephemeral community of Bullionville, which is now non-existent. By 1869 the Pioche's mines were booming and Pioche and Bullionville, like so many other Nevada mining towns, exploded in population.

The tensions between Mormon and mining interests reached a head in 1870 when Lincoln County officials began to attempt to collect taxes from Panaca, other residents of Mormon communities in Lincoln County such as Eagle Valley, and the Muddy river settlements of St. Thomas and Overton. Mormon settlers in Panaca believed that they were still in Utah despite boundary changes in 1866 and refused to pay taxes. Even after being the assured by a letter from Church leadership that they were indeed in Nevada, Lincoln County residents fought paying taxes, sometimes with threats of violence toward tax collectors, and spent 600 dollars on lawyers arguing that they had already paid taxes to Utah for the years that Lincoln County was trying to collect (Panaca Ward Record; Lincoln County Tax Records 1869; Townley 1973). For political and economic reasons, non-Mormon leaders of Lincoln County didn't attempt to collect taxes before the start of Pioche's mining boom, but did so after the populations of Pioche and Bullionville increased and non-Mormon residents County leaders no longer feared being voted out by a Mormon bloc vote.

The aftermath of the tax dispute resulted in a number of Lincoln County's Mormon residents leaving for Utah. The Muddy settlements saw the largest exodus. The number of people leaving Panaca is ambiguous. *A Century in Meadow Valley* states that Panaca lost over half its population in 1871 due to the dispute and to residents not wanting to live in Nevada, and has an un-credited quote from one

Panaca resident who moved: "There is just a screen door between there and hell" (8). Townley, on the other hand, notes that most of Panaca's residents stayed. In a letter to the Saints in Panaca, Erastus Snow gave them the option to leave, but stated that, "proximity to the mines would enable you to pay Nevada taxes much easier than the brethren of the Muddy can do" (Panaca Ward Record). Snow's remarks not only illustrate the material differences between the Muddy Saints and the Meadow Valley Saints, but also reflect the clear knowledge of Church leaders of the favorable economic situation, and the potential advantages of Panaca's residents being able to provide Pioche and Bullionville with food and other supplies.

The different observations on Panaca's early history speak to much more than just an estimate of how many of Panaca's residents left after the tax and boundary dispute. Panaca's situation is a good representation of the seemingly contradictory stances of the Church. On one hand, Mormon leaders were attempting to build up Zion, a homeland where Saints from around the world would come in preparation for the Second Coming. Church members were warned about doing business and about associating with Gentiles. Instances such as the Lincoln County tax dispute, the Mormon War, Mountain Meadows massacre, and other conflicts in the West were a continuation of the turmoil between the Saints and their neighbors in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois before the Saints moved westward in 1847. Yet, in numerous other instances members of the Church and Church leaders actively

sought certain specific kinds of connections with gentiles. During the late 1840s, Brigham Young quickly learned the economic advantages of being a supplier of goods to emigrants and gold seekers on their way to California. This trend of select economic association, and, in the case of Native Americans, political association, continued in the Mormon culture region and was manifest in Panaca during the late 1860s. The Mormons and the gentiles were clearly at odds during the tax dispute; yet, their symbiotic economic relationship was certainly advantageous to both parties. The Mormons willingly supplied needed food and materials and cheap freighting to the residents of Hiko and Pioche and later Delamar. Without these exchanges and the profits seen by Panaca's residents, the Mormon village of Panaca does not exist.

Models for understanding the Mormon village as presented by many scholars do not fit the above scenario. In the case of Panaca, there were a number of other political and economic circumstances at play during its formation than just expressions of the City of Zion plat, Jeffersonian ethics, the New England Village, early 19th century communitarian values, neo-classical views of nature, or the Church's drive for self-sufficiency. This is not to say that the above factors played no part in the ideological foundations of the Mormon village, but it would seem incomplete not to try to understand how economic and political factors, such as the

ones outlined, manifested themselves and were reinforced in the material landscape of Panaca during the late 1800s.

Residential Spaces

The early residential spaces of Panaca were similar in most regards to other Mormon settlements in the Mormon Culture regions during this time. Communal irrigation waters routed from a spring north of town were pressed into use by residents. Early tax records indicate that the residents of Panaca were using both their in-town lots for small scale agriculture and likewise the larger community fields outside of town. Like many other Mormon settlements, the use of adobe was common enough to be routine in property descriptions. As described in local historical accounts and the tax records of 1868, which mention the "Hulse adobe," a number of houses were constructed of adobe made from the marshes northwest of town. The use of adobe, though, was contrasted with fancier frame-built structures such as the Lee Hotel and the Matthews house.

Compared to their neighbors in St. George, Panaca's original residents had much larger family lots. While Panaca's' blocks were the same size as those of St. George, approximately 6.4 acres each, Panaca's town blocks, however, were split into four equal lots of 1.6 acres each . St. George's original town blocks were broken into eight equal lots of 0.8 acres each, similar to the original lots of Salt Lake City.

Although lots in the new Mormon villages were typically given away in a lottery, in both St. George and Panaca a few of residents owned a number of lots, although, in terms of percentage of residents, it appears far more of Panaca's residents had more than one lot according to the tax records of 1869-1872. For example, Francis Lee had three lots according to the 1869 tax records.

Perhaps more important was a nuanced difference between the morphology of Panaca and St. George. The larger lots in Panaca could facilitate more small-scale agricultural activities than could St. George's lot size. This difference between the towns directly correlates with their respective roles in the Mormon culture region. St. George was a regional capital and a location where non-food crops such as cotton and tobacco were grown for both Mormon markets and for export. Panaca on the other hand played a couple of roles. As pointed out by Leonard Arrington, Panaca served as a funnel town where goods from across the span of the Mormon culture region could be sold to nearby miners. Panaca with its prime agricultural land also produced valuable products such as fresh milk, eggs, and enough grain for surplus to be used by local residents, sold to local miners, and in all likelihood supply some of the Cotton Mission settlements with much-needed food.

Although the equal lot sizes, the lack of land speculation, and a lottery system illustrate some early Mormon communitarain values, not all residents had equal land holdings in Panaca even during the late 1860s and early 1870s. This

pattern is also seen in other settlements, as in St. George, where some landowners owned a number of lots within the town while many other families owned one lot. Brian Q. Cannon documents in the *Historical Atlas of Mormon History* that while each family settling Salt Lake City was at least granted one lot in the town, a number of Church leaders held numerous lots. While this disparity in land ownership may not be as acute in other non-Mormon areas of the West, the discrepancy of early land holdings in the early Mormon village is at odds with the notions of complete Mormon egalitarianism.

Public Spaces

Like the gridiron street pattern, public squares and other gathering spaces were hardly exclusive to Mormon villages. Indeed, as J.B. Jackson points out in his essay on "The Almost Perfect Town," the central public square has been a dominant feature in many small towns. In some aspects, the central square in Mormon communities provided similar benefits to town residents. The central square provided space for civic buildings such as courthouses, schools, and libraries or were left open for community gatherings and functions. Although the Mormon square served both civic and religious functions, these two spheres should not be considered separate in the early Mormon village and the Mormon culture region of the 19th century when the Mormon Church was attempting to build Zion. Through its history, the only types of structures in the square have been either Mormon

Church buildings or school buildings. The earlier buildings were often built by local members of the community, as was the case when George Syphus and Henry Bowling built Lincoln County High School around 1911 (Fig. 4.7). The square has also served as home to many town activities such as Utah Pioneer Day celebrations.

As was the case in many other Mormon villages, the first building on Panaca's central square was the original Panaca ward chapel, built on the southeast corner of the central square. Still standing today, the chapel was used for a variety of functions with the first a community dance held in September of 1868. Like today's newer Mormon chapels, the original building was used as a chapel, recreation hall, schoolhouse, and town hall. The next building constructed after the original chapel was the town hall built in 1897 on the south side of the square. This building would later be remodeled into a chapel in the 1940s. Schoolhouses were built around 1910. The elementary school on the west side of the block was torn down in the 1940s and replaced with a new grammar school on the south side of the block.

Panaca's central block provides a clear material difference from its neighboring communities of Pioche and Caliente and a material connection with other Mormon villages. Unlike Panaca, neither Pioche nor Caliente was originally designed to have a central public space reserved for civic or religious activities. While these spaces developed later, comparing the original uses of space between Pioche and Panaca illustrates some of the existing ideological differences between

the original settlers of Panaca and Pioche. Importantly, in Panaca's case, the central square was a place where a combination of civic and religious activities took place. This feature of the early town was not merely a coincidence. Rather, Panaca's central square reflected and maintained some of the distinctive Mormon ideals of Zionism where Church and government were one in the same, an aspect of life that was not included in the landscape of either Pioche or Caliente.

Business Spaces

The same year that the chapel was built, the Panaca City Branch of the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (PZCMI) was organized. Early tax records indicate that the early PZCMI, or Co-op, building was located where it is today on the corner of Main and 4th Street, directly across the street form the original chapel on the southwest corner of its block. As described in *A Century in Meadow Valley* and in "Panaca Co-op as A Way of Life," the Co-op dominated early business. Nearly all-economic activities were tied into the Co-op. The PZCMI was a branch of the larger parent cooperative located in Salt Lake City, operated there by the Church. The network of Co-ops meant that the Church had the ability to produce and sell goods across its region. Unlike the networks of tithing that the Church would use to allocate need-based resources, the Co-ops could sell their good for a profit to both Mormons and non-Mormons. Mormon residents of the town owned the local ZCMI

branches. In Panaca, a number of residents and groups owned stock, including the local relief society.

Early records of the PZCMI document some of the early rationale held by residents for Co-op creation and operation: " [The stock holders] convinced of the impolicy of leaving the trade and commerce of their city to be conducted by strangers" were willing to organize a local Co-op branch (PZCMI Board Minutes, 1868). Although this statement sounds heavily exclusionary of people outside the community, broadly grouped as "strangers," Co-op members certainly did not discriminate in terms of who could purchase merchandise. Business records from the late 1860s show that a number of "transients" and "miners" bought a large amount of various goods, even tobacco and whisky, which was stocked in the store, even if it was not supposed to be purchased by the Mormon faithful. The mines in the area fueled business as the Co-op and support Arrington's funnel town description for early Panaca. The Zion Cooperative Mercantile Institution and its branches are regarded as an early LDS self-sufficient building project that allowed Mormon-produced goods to be bought and sold to other Mormons at reduced costs. Undoubtedly, the PZCMI facilitated the inexpensive exchange of goods between the residents of Panaca and other Mormon communities. The PZCMI branch, however, was also in tune to other endeavors as expressed in the early Co-op records: "The day will come when it [PZCMI] will embrace everything and control the markets."

This perspective does not particularly sound like the words of the self-sufficient yeomen farmers that were supposed to have settled the Mormon village. Instead, one can see some of the similarities between Mormon and gentile in the nineteenth century American West.

By the early 1870s, the PZCMI was achieving a profit of well over 10,000 dollars a year on which stockholders received dividends. By this time, the PZCMI had interests in the local feed lots and even owned a stockyard in the neighboring community of Bullionville. Together, the Co-op and the chapel would have been the focal point of the community occupying lots across the street from each other. The Co-op, however, was not the only business prospering during this time. On the west side of the public square, running north up Third Street starting at Main were a number of businesses which catered to the boom towns of Pioche and Bullionville.

The landscape of Third Street today, with its homes and residential spaces, does not indicate that along or just off this street a sawmill, a grist mill, a hotel, a brewery, a stock yard, and a saloon all stood around 1870 (Fig. 4.8). This concentration of commerce, if brief, made up the most developed business district that Panaca would ever see. While most of these businesses were gone by the mid 1870s, their brief appearance illustrates the particular business connections between Panaca and its mining neighbors. This relationship, though, was hardly

Fig. 4.7 Like many Mormon villages Panaca's central square has been home to public education buildings as well as Church buildings. Pictured above is the first Lincoln County High School built around 1911. From *A Century in Meadow Valley,* 32.

Fig 4.8 Third Street below, running left to right across the photo, was a center of economic activity in Panaca for a brief time during Bullionville's boom during the late 1860s to the early 1870s. Bullionville's location was directly across the valley near the first ridge in this photo.

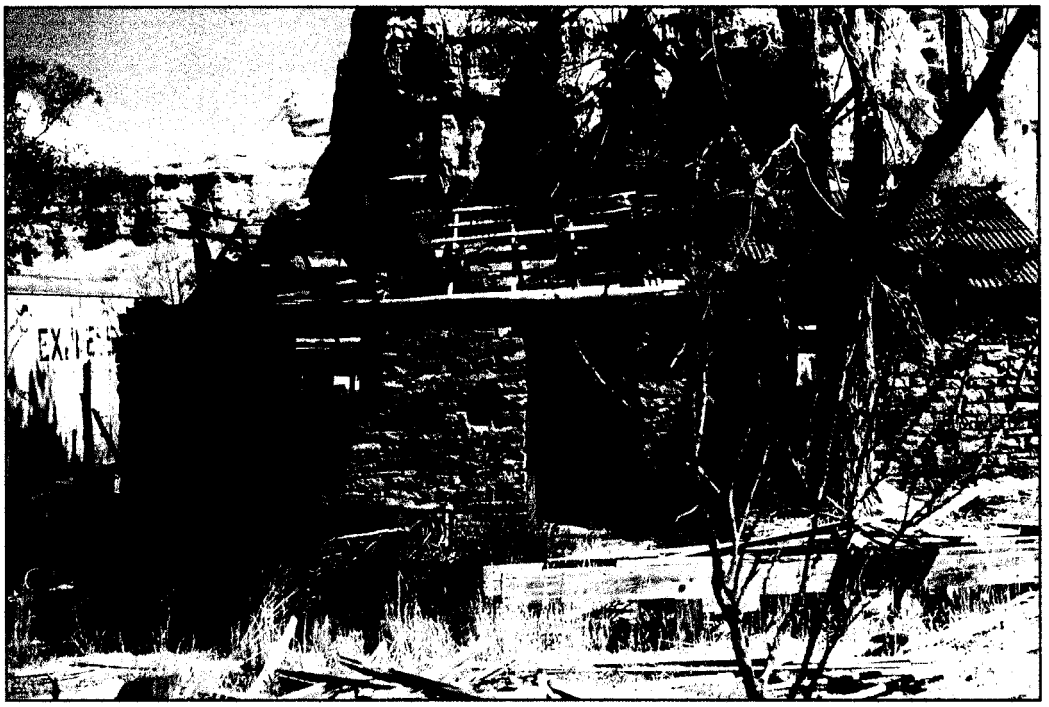

Fig. 4.9 Once home to a grist mill, this property along Third Street is similar to many other lots in Panaca whose buildings have fallen into disrepair while neighboring properties have been transformed into oasises of suburban aesthetics.

William Atchison
Juliette
Mary Eliza Lee
Jane Vail Johnson Lee
Sarah Louise LaFlesh Lee
Home of Francis Lee First and only hotel in Panaca, Nev

Fig. 4.10 The Lee Hotel furnished meal and rooms for many miners and laborers in the Meadow Valley area during the mining boom of the late 1860s and early 1870s. Still standing today as a private residence, the former Lee Hotel is near the intersection of Third and Edwards Street. From *A Century in Meadow Valley*, 156.

circumstantial or imposed upon Panaca. Residents actively established businesses that would cater to the influx of gentile miners. For example, Jane Johnson Lee went to Chicago to buy items for her hotel, the Lee Hotel. Her Hotel (Fig. 4.10) served "crowds of people" during the area-mining boom of the early 1870s (Roberts).

The Conflicted Village and Life on the Frontiers

The initial Village landscape of Panaca both conforms to and deviates from what other scholars have observed and concluded about the Mormon village. Panaca of 1870 had many features that could be considered classic Mormon village features, sporting its wide streets, in-town agriculture, comunitarian irrigation, equal and large block and lot size, only one Church, a central square reserved for religious and community buildings and activities, and a functioning branch of the ZCMI. All these features fit nicely with most characterizations of Mormon villages of the mid- to late 1800s.

What is also interesting, though, is that there are a number of exceptions and aspects of Panaca's relic landscape that do not fit the typical models of Mormon villages. These exceptions could be considered products of Panaca's gentile influences, and perhaps its Nevada location, departing from its Mormon core. The business landscape, which catered to outsiders, seemed to disappear after the Pioche

boom ended. The ephemeral business district along Third Street also appeared to vanish quickly. Yet many aspects of Panaca's landscape that were not typical of the Mormon village were products of the specific political and economic policies of the Church. Some scholars see the settlement of Panaca as a barrier or a population buffer to the gentile mining frontier approaching from the West (Townley, 1973). There are also indications, such as Erastus Snow's comments to the Panaca Saints during the tax conflict on 1871 and Leonard Arrington's funnel town characterizations, that Panaca was seen as an important strategic economic outpost for goods produced in the Mormon culture region, goods that could be sold for cash that the early Church was always looking for. Historically, the Church appeared to have conflicted goals. Theologically, the Mormon culture region was partially envisioned as the utopian gathering of Zion free from the influences of the gentle world. Brigham Young and other Church leaders, though, knew the crucial importance of acquiring cash capital in order to build a self-sufficient kingdom. This seeming contradiction played out on Panaca's landscape where the Jeffersonian Village and economic boomtown were one in the same during Panaca's early years.

What is also remarkable is that despite the intense social economic and political interaction between the residents of Panaca and the local miners, a town that could be considered today one of the few remaining models of a Mormon village landscape was still created. The creation of such a distinct landscape in the

face of intense exchange illustrates the power that the Mormon Church had in both formal and informal methods of landscape creation, maintenance, and enforcement. Formal polices such as inkind and labor tithing were well suited for the landscape of the agrarian Village. Informal policies and encouragement such as town planning directives from Church leaders were also influential in the creation of a Mormon village on the fringes of the Mormon culture region.

Panaca's history and landscape in the 1870s also highlights the nature of the converging Mormon and mining frontiers in the West that John Townley comments extensively about. He describes the two frontiers and the parties involved, Mormons and miners, as diametrically opposed. The coming together of the two frontiers is seen under Townley's history as a political and economic battle between exclusionary solid fronts. Aspects of the history of Panaca, though, show that as much as these two groups were embattled they often relied, and sought out each other, for mutually beneficial economic and political reasons. The relationship between the Mormon frontier and the mining frontier was quite cooperative and most likely from the Natives point of view were one in the same. Each side provided the other with essentials in the West—supplies and cash. While there were troubles, the miners could not have survived without Mormon supplies and freighting and Panaca would not be the Mormon village it was and still is today without the markets the mines provided. From the stand point of the Paiutes, there was perhaps

little difference between the mining and the Mormon frontier, as numerous historical accounts demonstrate that the miners and Mormons joined up a number of times for protection from Native attacks, (for instance during the winter of 1867), or were allies when driving out or attacking the local Natives.

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[i] *A Century in Meadow Valley* states that 500 people were living in Panaca by the end of 1868. This figure is cited by Townley in *Conquered Provinces*. This is likely an overstatement. The population estimate of forty families is listed in both the Panaca Ward Record and the "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission."

Chapter 5

The Village Today

Panaca's contemporary material landscape goes well beyond a collection of relict agrarian features and the other traditional elements associated with Mormon villages. Resolutely juxtaposed with the brick and adobe houses, in-town corrals, barns, and out-buildings, Lombardy poplars and irrigation ditches described by many observers are landscape features that are solidly mid- to late-twentieth-century suburban. In Panaca, manicured lawns, troweled-stucco finishing, and ranch-style houses stand side by side with elements of the built environment originally created in much different contexts. These contrasting landscapes are readily apparent and tell of numerous social and economic trends, past and present.

The landscape studies pioneer J.B. Jackson has noted that "Landscape is history made visible" (Jackson, in Horowitz 1997, x). The contemporary material landscape of Panaca is representative of a cross-section of many historical particularities, including the vigorous, even frenetic, Mormon Church-driven expansion and colonization efforts of the late 1800s. Still, older house forms, land uses, and agrarian features in Panaca should not be hastily regarded as cultural relics whose only value lies in their telling of past events. The places and spaces of Panaca — whether classic expressions of the Mormon village or resembling more of a modern Las Vegas housing tract — very much exist and function in the here-and-

now. Obviously, the earlier time and place that brought about the classic Mormon village is gone, but many of the ideas and networks, religious and secular, that created and maintained that landscape of Panaca do remain. These create a significantly different townscape than those in the neighboring Lincoln County, Nevada, communities of Pioche and Caliente.

As the historical geographer Richard Jackson points out, the only surviving founding features in many a Mormon village are wide streets, Mormon chapels, and Mormon toponyms. Looking at the communities along the Wasatch Front, in southwestern Utah's Dixie (and especially St. George), or even among other small Mormon villages in southern Nevada and Utah (the likes of Santa Clara, Mesquite, or Washington come to mind), Jackson's assertion appears spot-on. Many of the common characteristics of Mormon villages have been obliterated. Panaca, however, has been slow to undergo these landscape changes. Its mix of Mormon village landscapes and newer landscapes creates an opportunity to examine the occurrence of classic Mormon village features (explored in chapter four) as they coexist with newer and less agricultural. This chapter explores a number of features in the contemporary landscape that are not typically considered features of the original village. The appearance of these features in the Mormon village is nothing new. For some time observers noted the disappearance of the prototypical agrarian Mormon village. Typically these changes have been attributed to suburbanization,

urbanization, and the economic shift from the majority of the workforce in agriculture to service sectors of the economy. Whatever the reason, many see these changes as part of the Americanization of the Mormon culture region. The changes are perhaps more nuanced than the blunt force trauma of "disappearance." It appears that although in many ways these changes to the Mormon village do reflect a larger shift to suburban land uses and values, in the case of Panaca these larger trends have particular outcomes due to historical, social, religious and economic contexts. As in the last chapter, my goal is an exploration of these particular landscape manifestations in residential, public, and business spaces in contemporary Panaca.

Residential Spaces: Donut Blocks and Stucco Sprawl

In *The Mormon Village* geographer Richard Francaviglia cites a number of housing elements in the Mormon village that help set it apart from non-Mormon villages: a prevalence of the central hall house design, a high percentage of brick or stone homes, and the appearance of "warm" colors "especially red and light brown" (59). Francaviglia's primary objective in pointing out these features is to demonstrate that Mormon towns have a unique appearance when compared to non-Mormon towns in the American West. He points out that the existence of these housing features alone

does not aesthetically set Mormon villages apart, instead the frequency of these features often indicate whether a town is a Mormon village.

Francaviglia argues that any distinct appearance of the Mormon village is largely non-existent if the town was settled after 1900. Unlike Mormon villages settled during the active Church-led colonization, these towns look blandly similar to their non-Mormon counter parts. Not mentioned in Francaviglia's book is that the classic Mormon village landscape features also tend to appear in communities that have not gone through rapid population, economic, and social changes. Richard Jackson readily points out that those communities subjected to urbanization have largely seen their agrarian features removed and replaced with landscapes that resemble broader suburban American styles.

In his work "Religion and Landscape in the Mormon Culture Region" Jackson asserts that there have been four periods of Mormon village housing architecture. The first was a folk housing period from 1847 to 1860, during which housing generally consisted of simple rectangular adobe structures. The second period (1860–1880) was characterized by homes largely reflecting the Greek-revival styles popular in the early 1800s, a style or genre brought with the Latter-Day Saints to the Great Basin. Homes built during this period were rectangular with extensions, and were still built from adobe bricks that were stuccoed over. From the late 1800s to World War I, Jackson characterizes the homes as "Mormon eclectic." During this

period, large brick and stone homes were popular and reflected a general American "penchant for grandeur and lavishness." Jackson cites the prevalent use of brick in Mormon towns, a trend that continues today, as a result of the large number of English immigrants to the region, the ability of Mormons to collectively develop the brick yards needed, the lack of timber of the region, and cultural perpetuation of aesthetic. The fourth period of Mormon homes, starting after World War I and continuing today is characterized by the development of homes that are "identical with those with those generally popular in the United States." Jackson points out that predominantly, homes built after World War II in the Mormon culture region are ramblers and split level houses, housing types typical of many urbanized areas of the Mormon culture region.

The contemporary residential landscape of Panaca confirms a number of the observations made by Francaviglia and Richard Jackson. Classic examples of Greek revival architecture, central hall plans, and a use of brick and adobe seen in Panaca attest to its Mormon roots and its distinctly different look from the older homes of Caliente or Pioche. The most common house of Panaca, however, is the typical small rambler or ranch house found in suburbs across the country and increasingly similar to those homes in Panaca's neighboring communities. While the rambler and ranch style house is by far the most popular housing type in Panaca, other types, including double- and single-wide mobile homes, split levels, duplexes and other home types

common in the American West are routine. Unlike other Mormon towns, and notably those along the Wasatch front that have seen their residential spaces so radically altered, Panaca's steady yet small population and near non-existent economic growth have meant that many of the pre-1900 houses and residential spaces have remained relatively unchanged since their initial appearance. This composite landscape of old and new seems to affirm that while the earlier landscape of Panaca was at some departure from non-Mormon towns, the trend in Panaca since the beginning of Jackson's fourth period of Mormon village architecture shares the regional and Mormon-country-wide movement toward an increased homogenization of housing appearance.

These newer housing types have appeared in Panaca in two ways. First, the rambler or ranch house was built on the traditional large square blocks of the original survey that were once occupied by the larger corner houses of the late 19th and early 20th century. Second, newer houses have been built outside the original block survey either in planned subdivisions or on larger parcel holdings north and south of town. The appearance of these housing types has coincided with a reorganization of how residents utilize residential and yard space. How the people of Panaca changed and continue to modify their housing forms and residential land use practices is both typical and unique when contrasted to standard suburban ethics and practices.

The Dismantling of the Classic Mormon Block

Block models dominated the layout of early Mormon villages (this text, Chapter 3). Each of these models hewed closely to the typical block use of Panaca. The original nineteenth-century lots were subdivided into smaller parcels, and on those smaller parcels were built many of the newer suburban style houses. The development of suburban style houses and accompanying residential (as opposed to semi-agricultural) land uses on the original town blocks can be traced back to the 1920s. By using Lincoln County's property tax records, one can see the shift from the traditional numbering of lots in each block to the contemporary patterns. The original survey of Panaca, discussed in Chapter 4, had each block divided into four lots, labeled 1, 2, 3, and 4. Property tax records for Panaca indicated the block and lot owned by each property tax payer by listing the block number and then a lot number, which ways always 1, 2, 3 or 4.

Early tax records from the 1870s and 1880s listed only a few properties as "a fraction of a lot," such as the property where the Panaca Co-op still exists. This trend continued until the early 1900s, when property records began to list lots as a quarter- or a half- of an original lot, indicating that residents were subdividing large lots into smaller parcels. Instead of each block containing four equally sized square lots, the town blocks were becoming home to numerous lots of different shapes and sizes. By

the 1940s and '50s most lots were portions of one of the original four lots in each block. Today these newer lots are assigned individual numbers, instead of being described in relation to one of the original four lots in each block such as the "northwest quarter of lot 3." This evidence in the tax record marks the changing morphology of the traditional Mormon village Panaca block in Panaca (Fig. 5.1).

These newer lots tend not only to be have the post-WWII housing styles (as suggested by Richard Jackson), but the residents on these smaller lots tend to utilize the surrounding property much differently than do the residents of the traditional large corner lots of the original survey. The newer residential spaces tend to reflect standard suburban land uses that devote much more space to aesthetically pleasing front lawns and ornamentation, and to recreational spaces devoted to RV spaces, barbecue patios, concrete slabs for basketball courts, and other non-agrarian uses. Placed upon the large original blocks designed for small-scale agriculture, these newer properties create a startling juxtaposition with neighboring properties that have retained a number of in-town agrarian features (as described in Francaviglia's work) such as sheds, corn fields, barns, defunct chicken coups, and small pastures. This is a remarkably polyglot landscape, in terms of its features and hints of past occupancy, and anything but carefully monitored for consistency.

A newer and more drastic method of landscape alteration also stands out in Panaca. Some of the older corner houses built during the late 1800s have been

removed altogether and replaced with newer houses. The surrounding property has in some cases been scraped clean of any and all agrarian features. Two houses in particular demonstrate this type of alteration. The first is on the northeast corner of what is now the intersection of 3rd and Edwards. Historical surveys and photos document that on this property stood the John Barton Atcheson home, built in 1867. While the aerial photograph from the 1950s does not show exact detail, it captures a lot densely filled with trees and relatively messy incidental agrarian features (Fig. 5.2). Today there stands a recently built house in place of the older home, and the property owners have stripped clean the classic village features once on the corner lot. (Fig. 5.3 and 5.4). Another house (Fig. 5. 5) stands on the site of the first Nephi Wadsworth home built in 1881. That home had stood undisturbed until at least 1982 when it was photographed and documented in the Lincoln County Historic Property Survey. Like the Atcheson house, the Wadsworth home was a good example of land uses and aesthetics of the classic residential landscape of Panaca. Interestingly, both these former houses still are listed on the historical walking tour of Panaca.

These examples demonstrate that the ongoing changes of Panaca's residential spaces include not only the importation of newer housing styles, but also involve a larger transformation of the property around the house. Many of Panaca's residents are clearing their property of virtually all the sheds, barns, out-buildings, corrals, and other relic features. Replacing them are manicured lawns and other features that

Fig. 5.1 This portion of Panaca's plat map, block 15, from the county assessors office illustrates the layering of property division upon the original four lot block.

Fig. 5.2 Air view of Panaca taken in 1968. The orange circle encompasses the transformed property of the house in figures 5.4 and 5.5. From USGS Photo Survey 1968.

Fig. 5.3 The traditional corner house and agricultural property has now been scraped clean and replaced with a new home.

Fig. 5.4 The same house two years later. A lawn and some trees have been added to the lot, yet, the over all aesthetic is suburban neatness and not the traditional agricultural utilitarianism of the former occupants.

adhere closer to a typically suburban American aesthetic. While reasons voices for removing these features varies, one property owner gave an explanation that perhaps exemplifies the motivation for this. The landowner, who had recently refurbished an older house on a corner lot, grew up in Panaca and retired in Panaca after a career as a contractor in Las Vegas. The landowner spent considerable time putting in a back lawn, a multibay shed for antique tractors, and playground equipment. While making these improvements the landowner noticed he was not only removing overgrown brush, trees, and out-buildings, but finding also various hardware and implements such as blacksmith tools and other materials left by past owners who had utilized the property in far more utilitarian ways. Part of this man's rationale for replacing the older features was to give his family, children and grandchildren a good place to spend the weekends, holidays, or even entire summers in Panaca. That way, he hoped, the grandchildren could experience the way their grandparents grew up. This illustrates both the ongoing landscape transformation in Panaca, and also a paradox: One of the reasons for demolishing the past agrarian landscape and replacing it with one that appears much more suburban is to evoke a Panaca of fifty years ago, when the agrarian life was much more prevalent than today.

The latter-day transformations of Panaca's original blocks from agrarian to suburban in both use and aesthetics has created an interesting land use phenomenon. Dividing up larger blocks for suburban style homes has produced a geometry where the block edges are filled with houses yet whose interiors are largely void of houses, barns, or other development, and typically are not utilized even for agrarian activities. Panaca's large blocks, as in many another originally Mormon village around the Mormon Culture Region, represent a much different social and economic context for their creation. At their inception they provided enough land that each family could practice small-scale agriculture. Today, however, the preference for large lots, at least for agricultural purposes, is gone, and the economic incentive to subdivide land has created Panaca's hollow blocks that are ringed by development.

The Panaca landscape from the late 1800s to the early 1900s most resembled the model blocks documented by other scholars. These models, however, are based upon the agrarian Mormon village. While Panaca retains some agrarian elements, its landscape is a composite of relic agrarian features and newer suburban ones. Fig. 5.6 is perhaps a better model for not only Panaca, but perhaps for many another Mormon village that has not yet become completely suburbanized, yet is clearly no longer strictly a enclave that is home to agrarian clutter.

Fig. 5.5 Another example of classic Mormon village features being replaced with suburban features.

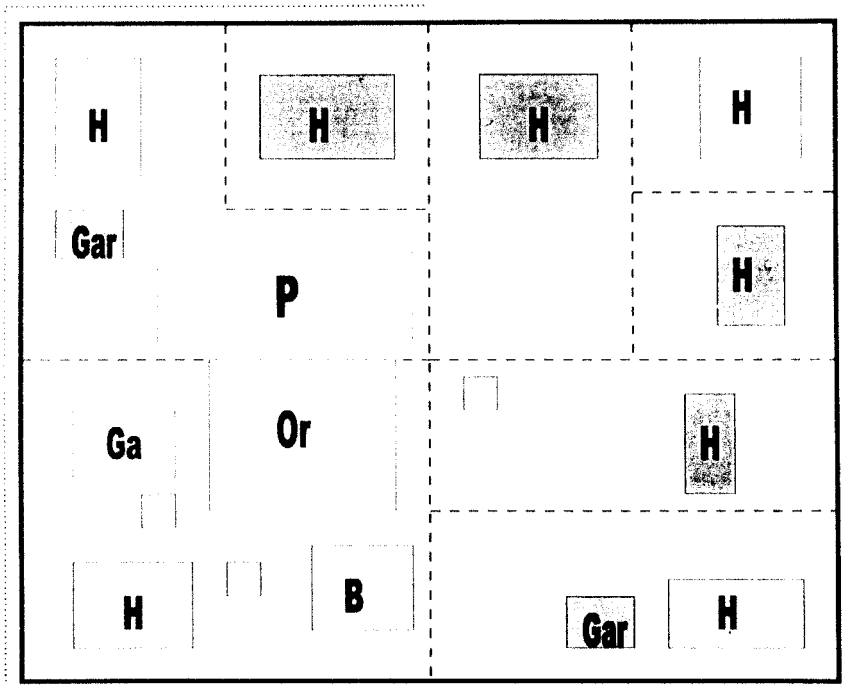

Fig. 5.6 A new block model in the tradition of Nelson, Francaviglia, and Peterson. The block model illustrates the juxtaposition of the classic features of the Mormon village such as a partially remaining irrigation ditch (represented by the dotted line on the left side and top left of the block), in town orchards/Or, pastures/P, sheds, barns/B, and older houses/H (shaded light) with the newer houses/H and garages/Gar (shaded dark).

Living Off the Grid

The second way in which the rambler, or ranch house, and other suburban features have become prevalent in Panaca is by residents moving outside the original grid survey and into planned subdivisions or on larger parcels of land on the outskirts of town. Unlike the large interior town blocks where residents cleared their lots of agrarian land uses and relic features and replaced them with suburban ones, the newer developments beyond the original grid have allowed residents to create a suburban residential landscape without having to clear away past agrarian features. The earliest of the planned subdivisions with 104 lots was named Sun Gold Manor (Fig 5.7 and 5.8). Sun Gold Manor was primarily developed in the early 1950s as additional housing for miners who were working at the mines in the Caselton and Prince area approximately fifteen miles northwest of town. Its addition to Panaca created the first formally planned addition to the town since its settlement nearly ninety years earlier.

Sun Gold Manor exhibits the classic elements of a planned late 20th century suburban development. Its small lots, curved streets, and cul-de-sacs are a clear departure from the earlier Mormon village grid layout. The original houses were small ramblers with single-car garages. Unfortunately for many of the new residents, the sub-division was built at the end of an unstable alluvial fan and many of the

houses sank into the colluvial debris and became unlivable. Some of the houses were eventually bought and moved to other towns.

Today, though most lots of Sun Gold Manor are occupied with either the original houses or newer suburban type houses or mobile homes, the neighborhood looks like many others in the American West built during the same time and for the same price. The addition of Sun Gold Manor marks a number of important changes in Panaca, such as the appearance of larger scale planned real estate speculation. Also, the names of the new streets departed from the standardized numerical and alphabetic to names of prominent families prominent Panaca families such as Wadsworth, Gentry, Ronnow and Matthews, marking a shift from the original settlement standards. Yet, perhaps most importantly, Sun Gold Manor was not developed by locals or controlled by the Church as been past land surveys, rather it was developed by Johnson Inc. out of California.

Two more suburban-type appendages were added to Panaca in the 1970s and early 1980s. The first was the Sun Gold Manor "Addition," created in 1973, and the second was the Hinckley sub-division spliced on to the Panaca firmament in 1980. Each was much smaller than the original Sun Gold Manor and many of the lots in the Hinkley sub-division are still unoccupied. While the homes in these subdivisions represent a departure from many of the typical Mormon village homes

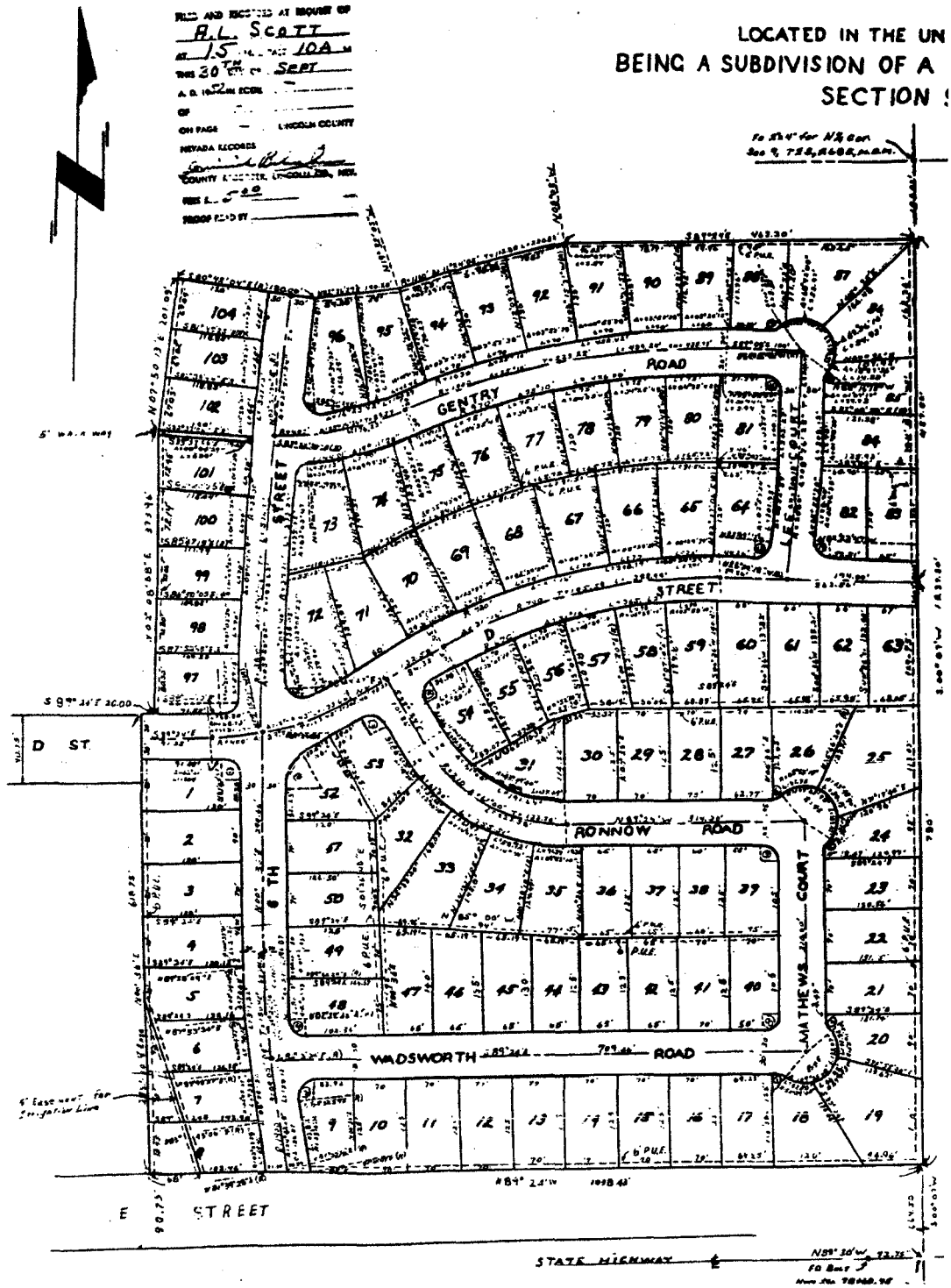

Fig. 5.7 A portion of the plat map for Sun Gold Manor 1 from the county recorders office filed in September of 1952. Sun Gold Manor marked a distinct departure from the traditional grid-iron street pattern.

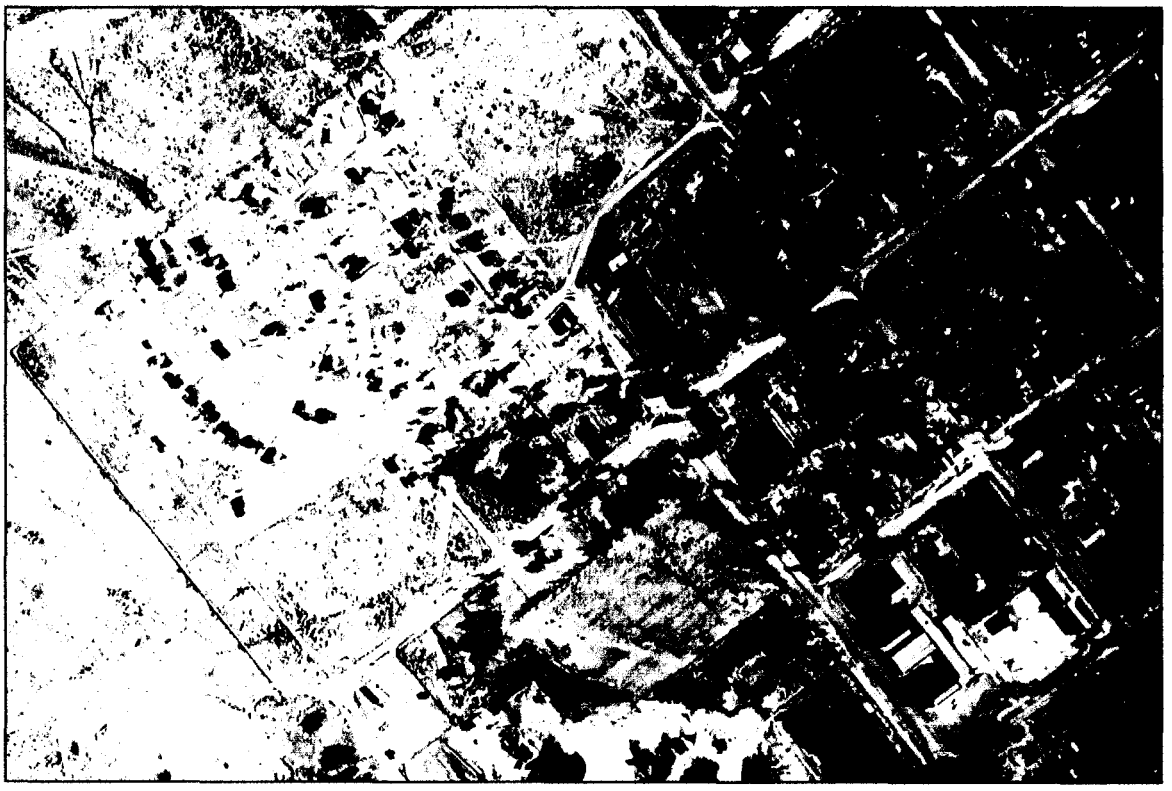

Fig. 5.8 a 1957 photo of the newly built Sun Gold Manor (upper left). The new morphology of the new development stands in contrast to the original agricultural grid of the original village. From the USGS, 1957.

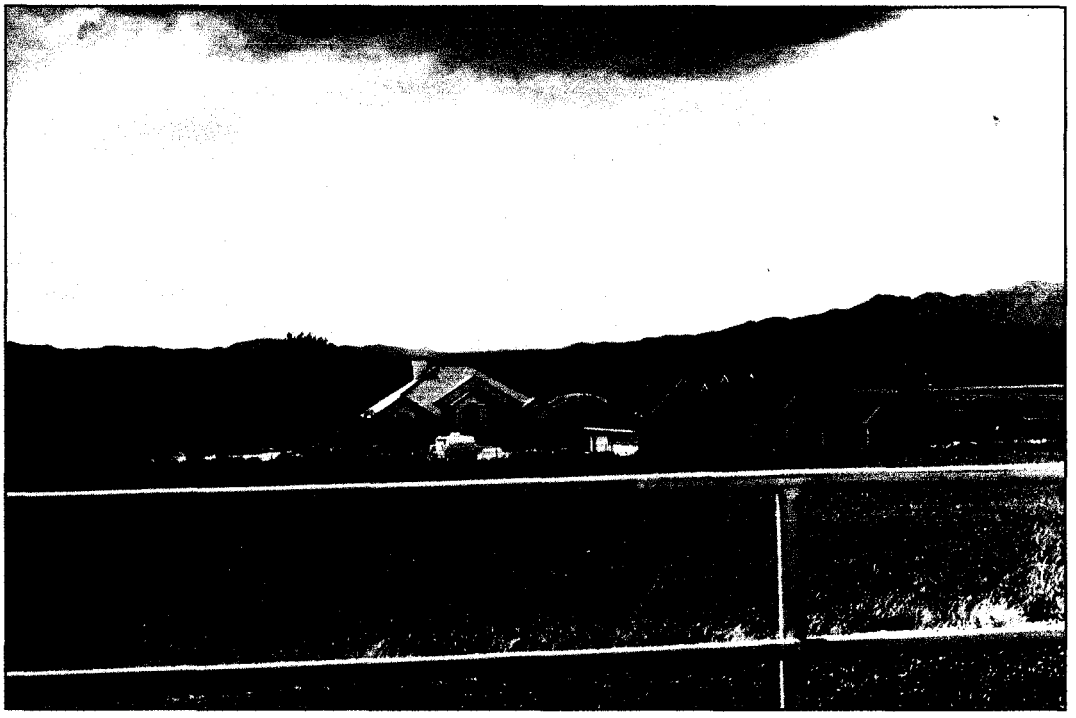

Fig. 5.9 Recent development outside the nucleated grid south of town.

and residential uses, the newer and more noticeable trend is the addition of houses on the large ranchette size lots to the north and south of town. Unlike the small 50s style working class suburban homes of Sun Gold Manor, these homes are newer and much larger. Fig. 5.9 perhaps best captures some of the residents's changing aesthetic preferences. These homes are quite notably similar to newer homes being constructed on larger lots in-town.

Possible Early Factors

The move toward expansive suburban type homes and lot use shouldn't be considered an either-or situation when looking at Panaca on the whole. There are still plenty of features in the local landscape of Panaca that can be considered classic remnant elements of the Mormon village. Given the number of classic Mormon village features, one can assume that unlike other Mormon towns that have few if any agrarian features in the landscape, Panaca exists in relative isolation from the economic and social trends that have obliterated the classic features of other Mormon villages in the Mormon culture region.

Typical reasoning for the disappearance of the Mormon village typically centers around larger causal trends such as urbanization, the decline of small scale agriculture, and the general Americanization of the Mormon culture region. In his

article "The Passing Mormon Village" Richard Francaviglia draws out some important points concerning the change in Church policies and ideologies and the subsequent decline of the Mormon village. Francaviglia states, "After 1892, Mormons changed their posture from one of isolation to one of assimilation" (1978, 45). Francaviglia notes that the early Mormon village landscape reflected isolationist stands of the Church during the 1800s while facilitating the building of Zion. Additionally, and perhaps most important, after 1892 Utah agriculture shifted from an aim at family and community self-sufficiency to larger scale business operations.

As discussed in Chapter 4, isolationism in Utah of the nineteenth-century was at best a selective occurrence. In certain instances, Mormons were actively exclusionary of "outsiders," in other cases they actively pursued greater ties, particularly economic ones, with Gentiles. With this in mind, certain aspects of the argument which holds that the decline of the Mormon village was a product of the integration of Mormon with broader American culture becomes a highly problematic stance, since Mormons were in many ways integrated into regional economics, especially in a town like Panaca The degree to which a distinct landscape of the Mormon village was developed by 19th century Mormons and maintained despite heavy social and economic interaction with local Gentiles speaks to the degree to which the Mormon Church controlled certain aspects of members' lives.

Generally speaking, it appears that many of the changes in the Mormon Church after the 1890s, as with those listed by Francaviglia, cleared the way for the transformation of the Mormon village through assimilation. Residents of Mormon villages outside of the "core" area were often exposed to larger American ideals of land speculation and *laize-faire* capitalism that were prevalent in the late nineteenth century. In many cases, members of the Church left the Mormon village and other Mormon settlements to pursue different interests. Yet many members worked to maintain in their villages a distinctly set of landscape features and communal norms. One reason that Mormons created and maintained the Mormon village until the late 1800s was not because they were not exposed to other, and perhaps more, mainstream ways of settlement and land tenure, but because particular Church stances endorsed and facilitated the agrarian village over other alternatives.

Two Church polices that appear particularly relevant to the maintenance and embroidering of today's twenty-first century variant of the Mormon village are change in facets of life dealing with tithing and land stewardship. Church doctrine regarding tithing, like many aspects of Mormon life, changed during the late 1890s. Strapped for cash, and faced with a growing likelihood of U.S. federal government action against the Utah LDS factions, Mormon Church leaders urged members to pay tithing in cash instead of "in kind," a system that had allowed paying dues with agricultural surpluses. While in-kind tithing remained an option through the 1890s

and even into the first decade of the 1900s, by 1908 all tithing was required to be paid in cash, which had the effect of considerably "liquefying" the Church's assets, and expanded possibilities for financing some specific development projects. A second important change came in the Church's stance toward land speculation and ownership. In town, settlement lots were given to the members of the settling party in a lottery system. A statement by Brigham Young illustrates the very early Church's implacable attitude toward land speculation: "No man will be suffered to cut up his lot and sell a part to speculate out of his brethren. Each man must keep his lot whole, for the Lord has given it to us without price..." (Young quoted in Arrington 1958, 46).

But like many of the practices surrounding colonization and the building of Zion, taboos on land speculation would ease, and nearly disappear, during the late 1800s. Without such barriers, either formal or informal, affecting residents of Panaca, the change policy meant that no longer could hard-up agriculturalists on their town lots resort to paying their Church dues by handing over an agricultural surplus from their large in-town properties. They faced having to pay tithes in cash. Suddenly, the small-scale agricultural activities that the layout of the Mormon village facilitated were not advantageous to being a good member of the Church. In fact, after these changes, the Church steadily distanced itself from offering any particularly good news that would assist with the day-to-day economic activities and well-being of its

members. There were advantages, however. After all, residents of Panaca could now freely subdivide and speculate with their land without feeling that they were going against the wishes of Church leaders. As the evidence in the tax records show, shortly after these changes were in place residents of Panaca began to subdivide their lots.

Aesthetic Preferences, Equity Retirement, and Urban Ties

Past changes in Church policy are part of the equation for the transformation of Panaca's residential spaces. Newer changes, while built upon earlier social contexts and landscapes, allude to Panaca's emerging role in the twenty-first century American West. The appearance of homes built by retirees and long-time residents alike suggest that the homes being erected fairly routinely involved cases where what was going up were replicas of suburban housing found in Las Vegas and other recent suburban developments (Fig. 5.10). This, for instance, is a prime example of a case where a retired couple from Las Vegas built their house on a lot once occupied by a plain Victorian style home, originally built by Lester Lee in the early 1900s. The new residents created a home that aesthetically evokes suburban Las Vegas and not something from the classic agrarian Mormon village.

Interestingly, however, they were throwbacks to the earlier era. Another retiree who moved to Panaca from the Salt lake area built a substantial home

resembling many homes from the Wasatch front (Fig 5.11). Unlike their neighbors who moved in from Las Vegas, the residents of this house built a brick split level home that is much more common along the urbanized Wasatch Front than in many other parts of the American West. Each of these examples illustrate that change in Panaca residential spaces and aesthetics is not just reflective of the broad diffusion of super-organic cultural and social trends. The residences in these two cases are the result of individual decisions to recreate residential landscapes that are much more familiar and comfortable to the recently relocated residents than the landscapes of the relic village. These examples also demonstrate that these new residential preferences are somewhat geographically specific to where the homeowners had previously lived.

A notable change to Panaca's residential landscape is the appearance of stucco finishing. Over the course of my visits to Panaca there was a noticeable increase in both new stucco houses and existing houses refinished with stucco (Fig 5.12). This trend speaks to the shifting preferences of both long-time residents and new arrivals and to the broader preference for stucco prevalent in the suburbs of the Las Vegas/St. George region. While drastic changes in size and appearance haven't happened in Panaca as they have in other Mormon villages in southern Nevada and southwestern Utah (such as Overton, Santa Clara, or Mesquite) the appearance of

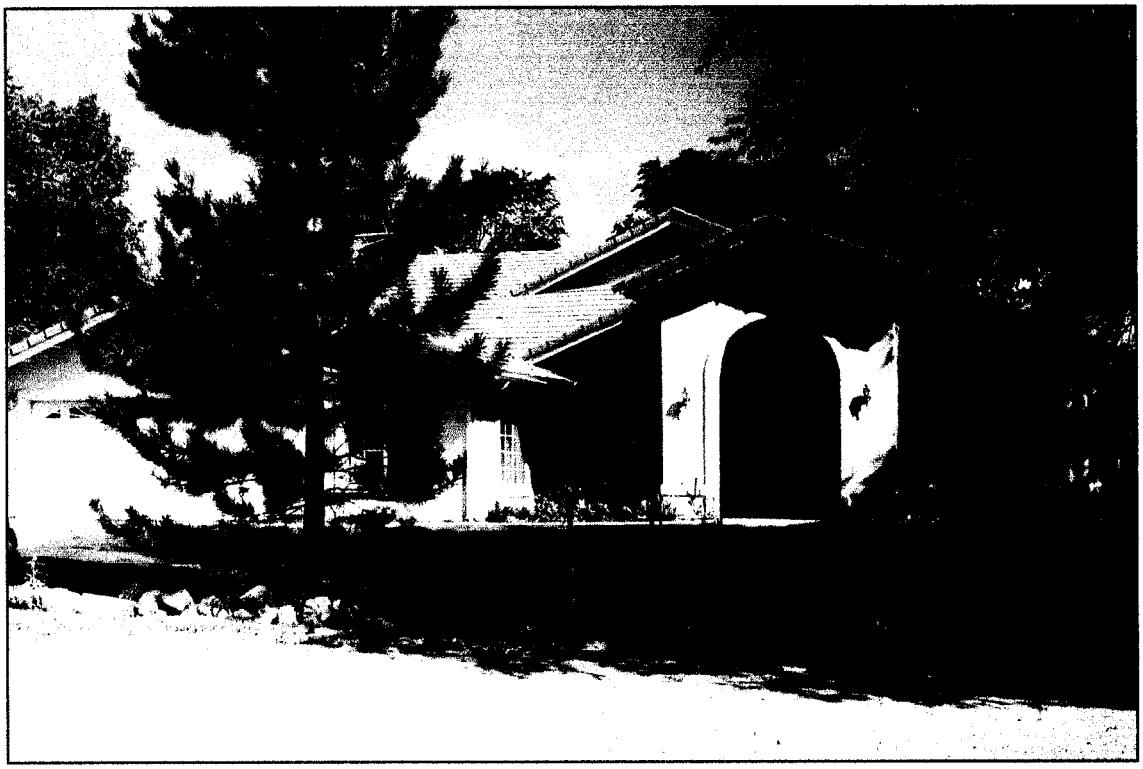

Fig. 5.10 This home was built by retirees from Las Vegas after removing the Lester Lee home built in the early 1900s.

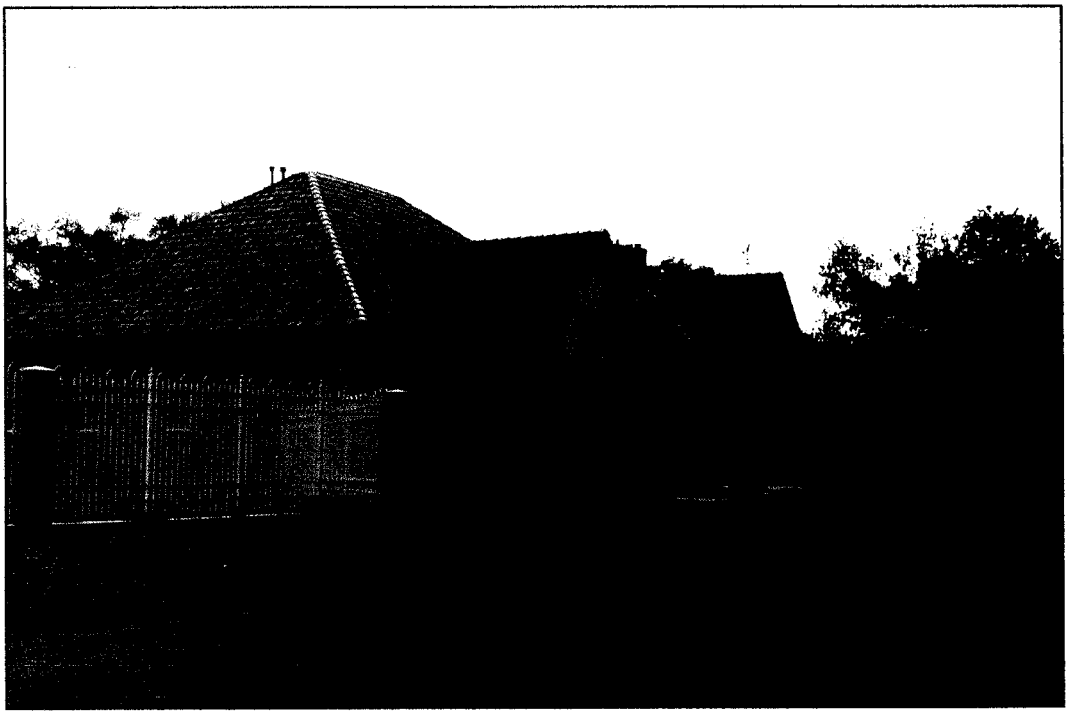

Fig. 5.11 These residents of Panaca have built a home reminiscent of the brick split level homes of the Wasatch Front from where they retired.

similar housing styles and the arrival of recent retirees from Las Vegas and the Wasatch front indicates that Panaca is part of an emerging and quickly growing region in the American West. Although the influx of retirees is small, Panaca's cheap land, relatively slower pace of life, and a homogeneous population provide a niche in equity retirement options especially for Mormons who may or may not have family ties and other religious connections to the town.

Obviously, the subdivision of property, front lawns, and stucco finishing are nothing unique to Mormon villages. Considering a few aspects of Panaca's features, however, indicates that when this process is layered upon the Mormon village, particular outcomes arise that create an interesting situation. Even though the some factors of Panaca's may be linked to larger homogenizing trends in the American West, the material outcome is anything but analogous to areas that were not initially settled as Mormon villages. Due to the slower pace of change, the transformation of Panaca's classic agrarian features and aesthetics to the newer suburban ones has created a situation in which both exist, but are maintained to different degrees.

Public Spaces: From 1st South to Edwards Street

The most prominent and quintessentially Mormon public space in Panaca is the central square. Panaca's central square is site of the first Mormon chapel built in

1866, which housed the local school and community center. Similar to other Mormon villages and towns settled during the late 1800s the central square has been the site of a number of quasi-public buildings, such as community centers, schools, and Mormon chapels. Today Panaca's central square is home to the contemporary Mormon chapel and the elementary school and, until recently, Lincoln County High School.

The presence of Church buildings and schools on central squares is somewhat common in the rural portions of the Mormon culture region. Francaviglia places a chapel, school, and relief society building on the central square of his model town of Cannanville. Panaca's central square similarly has provided a place for religious and educational buildings. Until the construction of a new county high school on a block adjacent to the central square, all education buildings were built on the square along with the newer chapel and its additions. While the number of buildings on the square has change over the course of Panaca's existence, the basic uses of the square have remained fairly consistent. The square today, as it was during the late 1800s, was reserved for religious and public education uses. Despite the appearance of newer and modern style chapels and school buildings, the central square is primary a utilitarian space. Other than the chapel and schools, parts of the square are currently unkempt lots, parking lots, and playgrounds.

Comparatively, Pioche and Caliente do not have similar spaces especially reserved and designed at the time of settlement for religious and public buildings. More important are the differences between the central square in Panaca and the central squares of other Mormon villages. Panaca's central square, when compared to the central squares and public blocks of some southern Utah settlements, lacks the appearance of monuments, memorials, or other purposely reflective and ideological landscape elements.

The central squares of the southern Utah settlements of Enterprise, Washington, Hurricane, St George, and Santa Clara all have monuments to early Mormon settlers of the towns or regions. Santa Clara provides an interesting example of how a Mormon village can utilize their central square for monumetalization. Similar to the central square of Panaca, Santa Clara has a modern Mormon chapel still in use. Unlike Panaca, members of the Santa Clara community have built a number of monuments with placards commemorating the early Mormon pioneers, and refurbished the historical buildings on the block, such as the original chapel and relief society building in stucco and white trim (Fig 5.13, 5.14, and 5.15). Signs along the street denote that the central square in now "Heritage Square." These signs, complete with uniformed city icons of a bunch of grapes (an acknowledgement of one of the semi-tropical crops grown there in the 1800s), are clearly and indication of the community's attempt to monumentalize the town's

Mormon pioneer history and to create a clear comfortable space for outsiders and tourists to visit. Down the main road from Santa Clara's Heritage square is another monument devoted to Sarah Leavitt (Fig 5.16).

Other southern Utah towns have similar monuments dedicated to the original Mormon settlers of the area. St. George, home to the Church-owned Brigham Young summer home, has an inordinate number of "Ancestor" labels around its central square, which has been given the title of Ancestor Square. Washington has a number of statues and monuments as well as the auspicious painted ornamental farm tools (Fig 5.17), and Enterprise has "Pioneer Park."

The only placard on Panaca's central square is a State of Nevada historical marker on the original ward chapel, something so demure that one long-time resident had never noticed its presence. The general absence of these types of landscape features in Panaca could be due to a number of reasons related to its size and relative isolation. Still, there are a few manifestations of these landscape types. There are signs that Panaca may be starting to participate in creating it own pioneer monuments. A recent mural painted on a wall in the town's only park depicts a pioneer scene, and the appearance of painted farm equipment outside the old Wadsworth store, while not as developed as the monuments in other Mormon towns, are along the same lines of selected monumentalization of the town's

Fig. 5.12 Upon each returning visit to Panaca, I notice the increasing use of stucco finishing, even on houses that were originally finished without it. This house above is painted to look like a stucco finish even though it isn't.

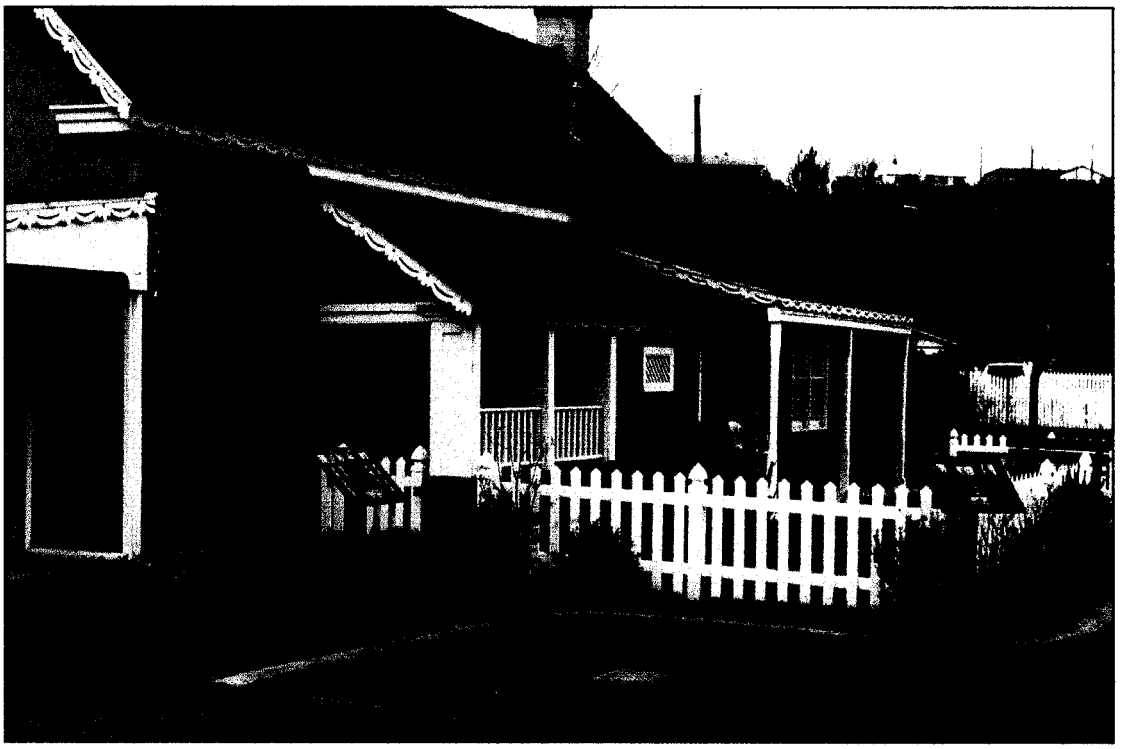

Fig. 5.13 Missing from Panaca's public spaces are the many monuments and heritage parks, such as the one above in Santa Clara, Utah, that are becoming common in southern Utah.

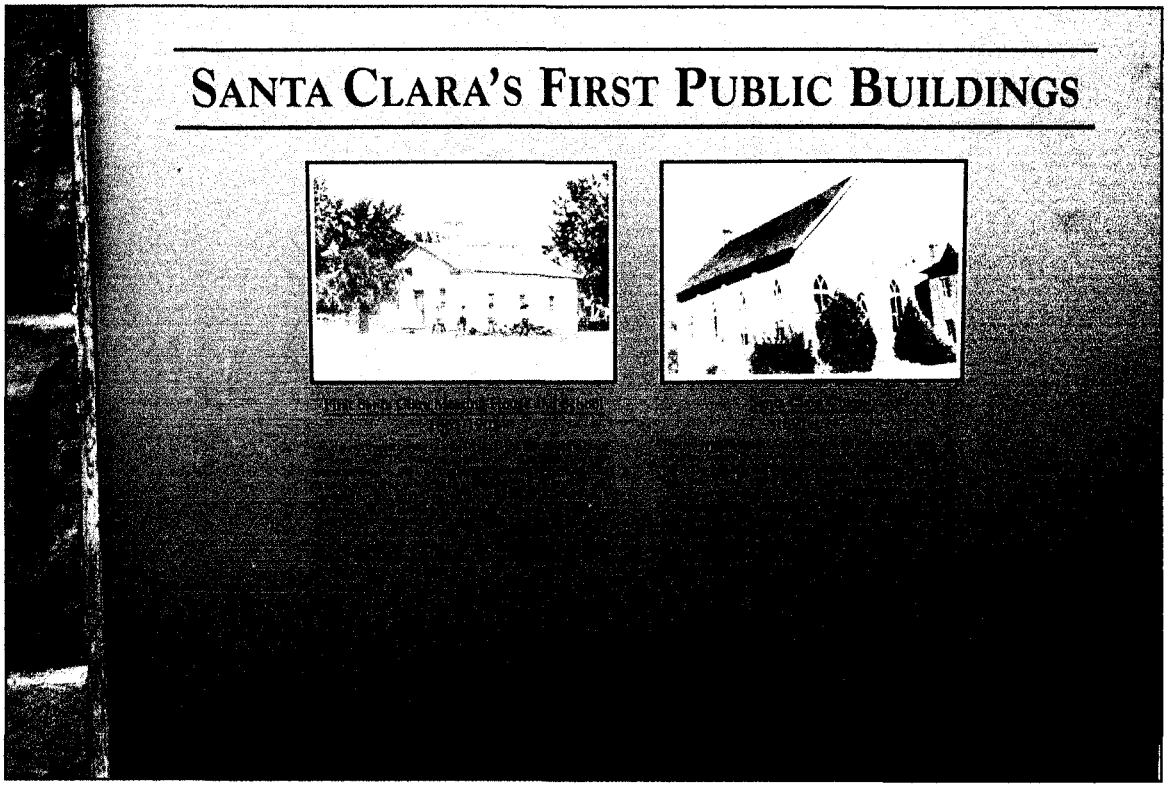

Fig. 5.14 A monument in Santa Clara commemorating the town's Mormon pioneers and some of its earliest buildings. These monuments, built and funded by local historical societies or other groups, haven't been created in Panaca--yet.

Fig. 5.15 Official historical sites, heritage squares, and historically significant logos mark a shift in the ways in which residents of the Mormon West view their landscape, history, and public spaces.

Fig. 5.16 A monument to Sarah Leavitt, local Mormon pioneer, in Santa Clara.

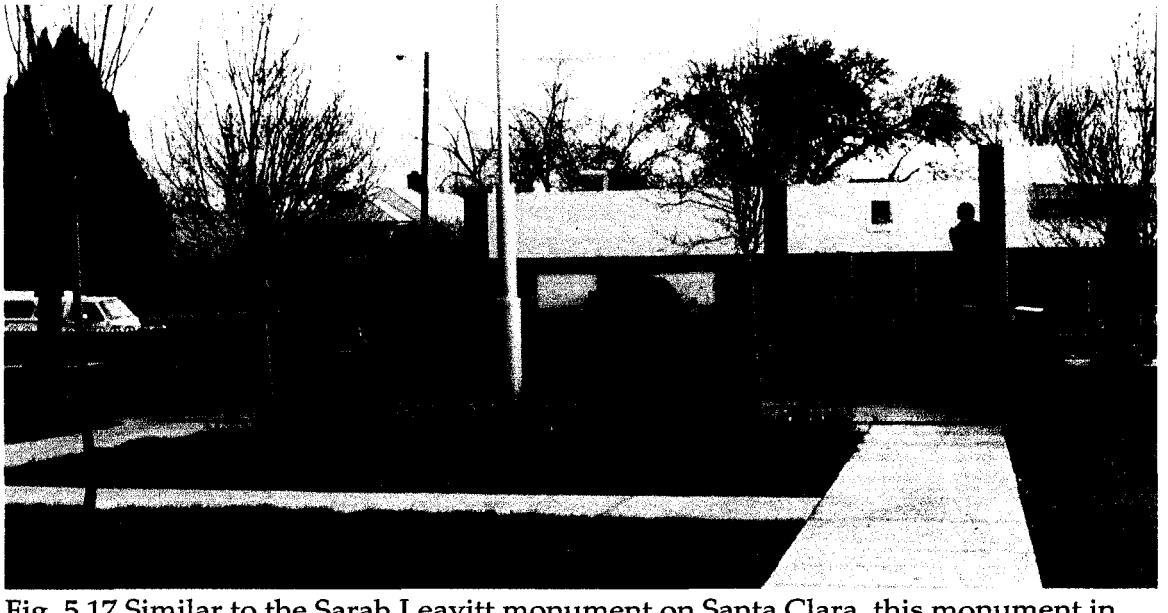

Fig. 5.17 Similar to the Sarah Leavitt monument on Santa Clara, this monument in Washington, Utah, is dedicated to the town's founding Mormon pioneers.

Mormon roots (Figs 5.18 and 5.19). There are also plans to put together a small museum in the Wadsworth store.

As with a broader set of changing aesthetics in Panaca's residential spaces, Panaca public spaces have been subject to revised preferences in appearance. On the central square, the old and newer chapter buildings along with the elementary school have recently been given a new beige stucco exterior. Outside of town the cemetery has also gone through a bit of renovation. According to a local informant, the cemetery up to the 1970s was little more than a lot of unkempt sagebrush. Current Church president and then General Authority Gordon Hinckley's sister died and was buried in the cemetery. After the funeral, Hinckley told the local leaders that the cemetery was certainly in unacceptable condition. Now, the cemetery is covered in a lush lawn and is taken care of by local Church members. This change in the landscape of the cemetery illustrates a number of important changes that have taken place in Panaca. The first is the gradual appearance of suburban aesthetics, putting a premium on manicured lawns in public spaces; something that has, of course, also blossomed in the ward-chapels and stake-houses of the Church. The second is the strong connection the town has to existing Mormon social influences, informal as they may be concerning the maintenance of public spaces.

Another change in Panaca public spaces is seen in the renaming of its streets (Fig 5.20). The original street names were similar to many other Mormon villages in the Mormon culture region. The east/west running streets were assigned letters A through J, A being the northern most street and J the southern most street. The north/south streets were given numbers starting with 1st street on the west side of town and 6th street on the east. In 1982, the town board changed the numerical street names. The standardized numerical streets were now named after prominent early pioneer families such as Blad, Edwards, or Heaps Street. This change, while seemingly minor, is similar to the building of pioneer monuments in the Mormon culture region in that it evokes and enforces its select pioneer heritage.

Businesses Spaces: Still the 'Merc'

On my initial visit to Lincoln County, the most noticeable difference between the landscape of Panaca and its neighboring communities of Pioche and Caliente was the absence of a business or downtown district. Unlike Pioche or Caliente, Panaca's main street is devoid of all but a couple businesses: a dance studio and a dentist. While locals have noted that Panaca once supported stores and restaurants, the sole retail establishment in Panaca today is the local grocery store the Panaca Mercantile (Fig 5.21). While now privately owned, the "Merc" is on the same lot as it was when the original branch of the ZCMI was built in 1869.

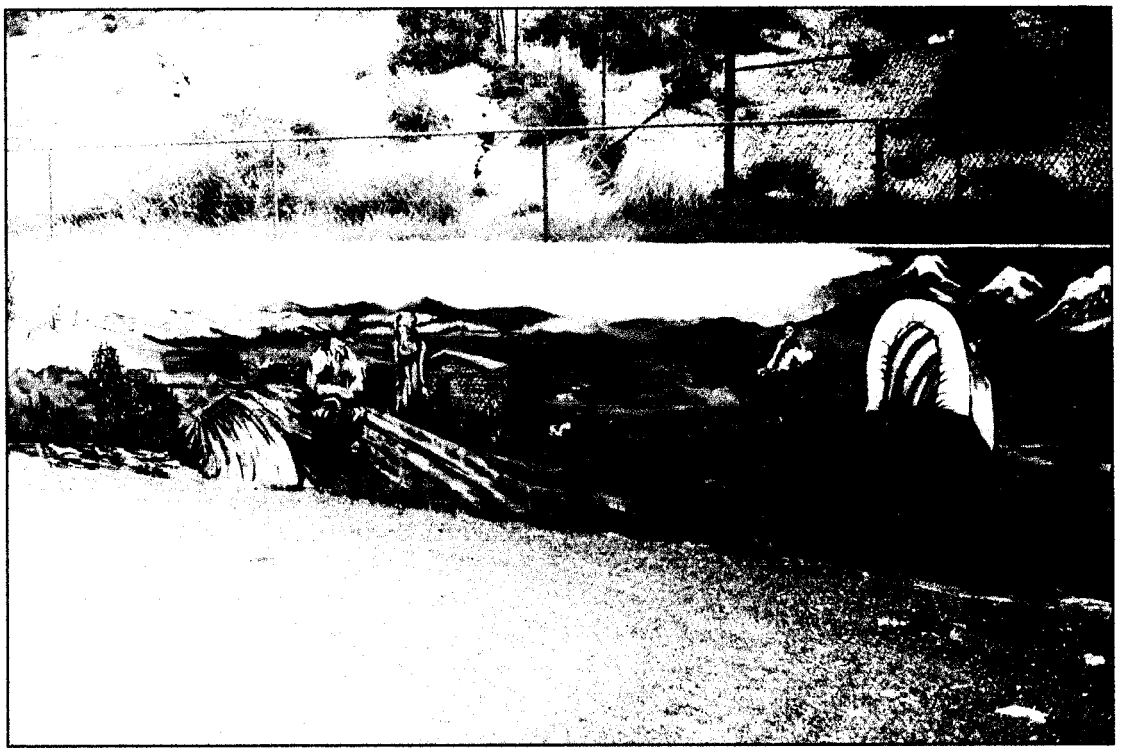

Fig. 5.18 A sign of Panaca's move toward monumentation, this mural depicting early pioneers of Panaca is painted on a wall behind the town's baseball diamond.

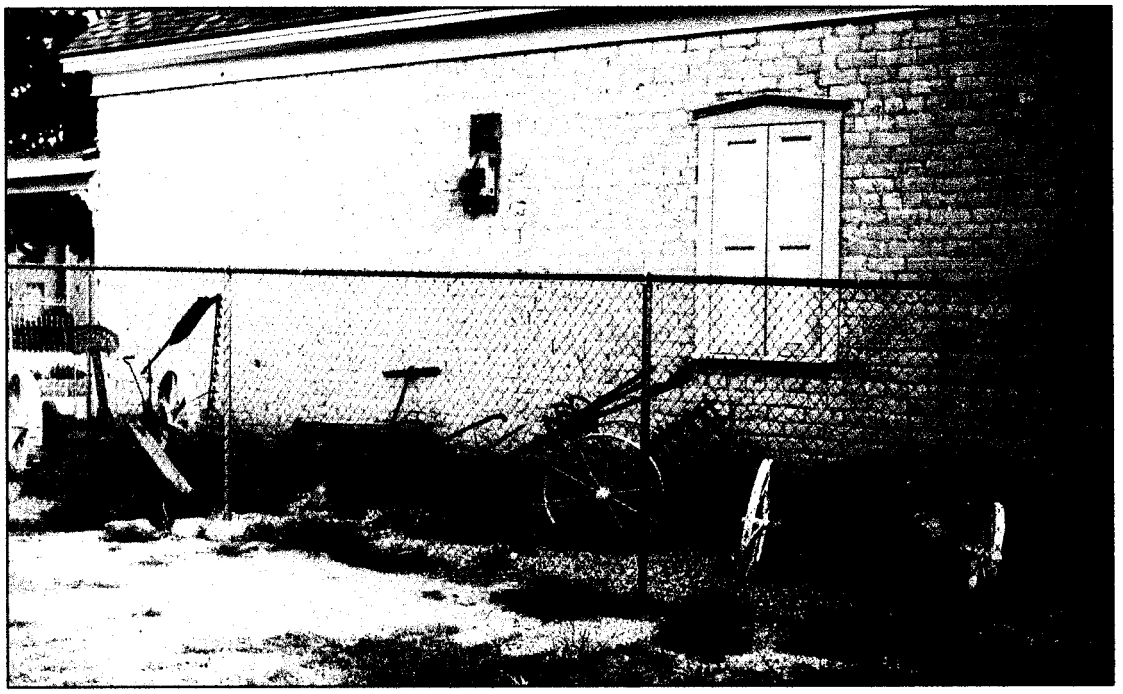

Fig. 5.19 Next to the old Wadsworth store, which local residents are trying to turn into the town's first museum, are the painted farm tools of a community that has started to alter parts of its landscape in terms of a evolving view of history.

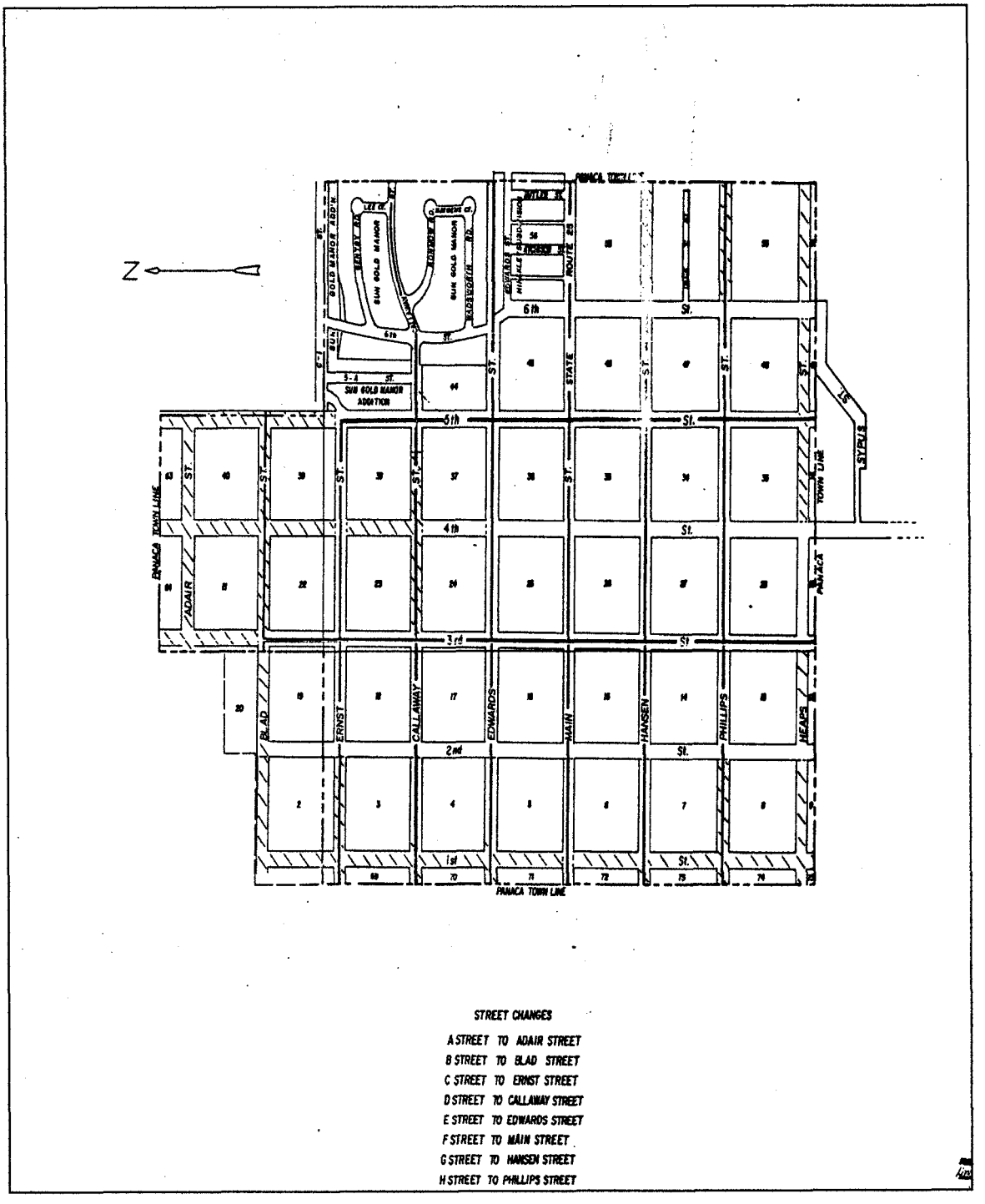

Fig. 5.20 This map from the county recorders office documents the changing of Panaca's street names in 1983.

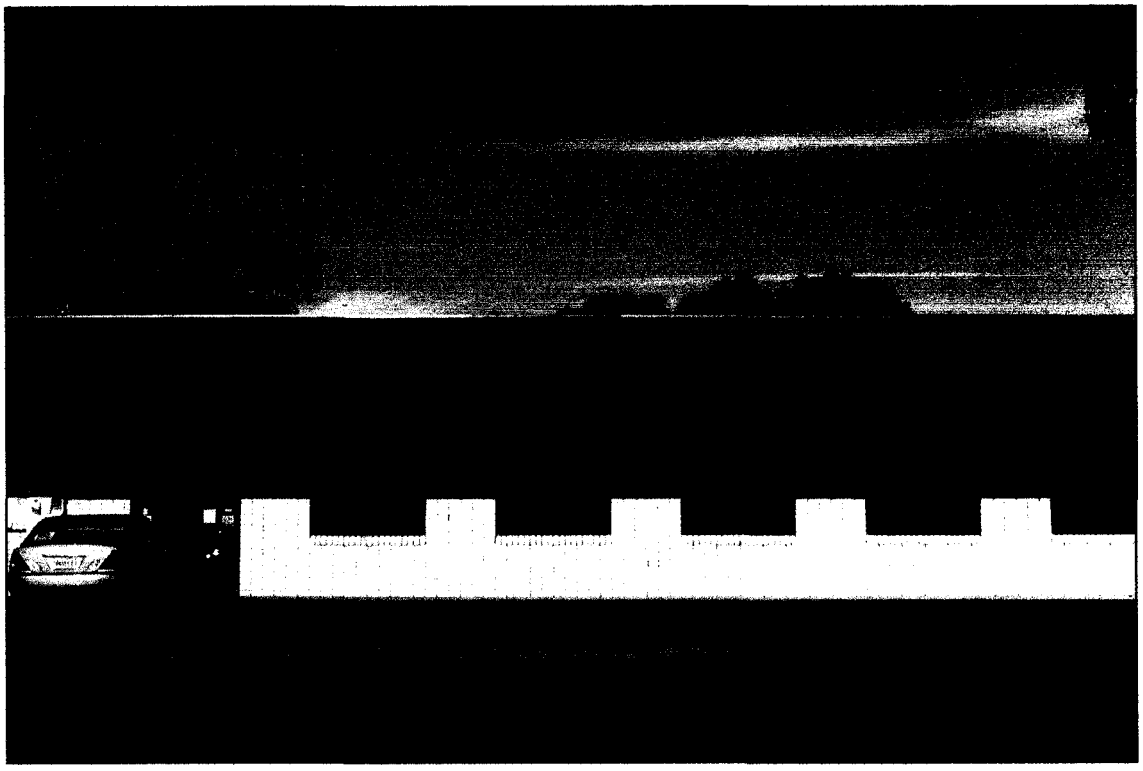

Fig. 5.21 The unadorned Panaca Mercantile is closed on Sundays and doesn't sell coffee, alcohol, or tobacco.

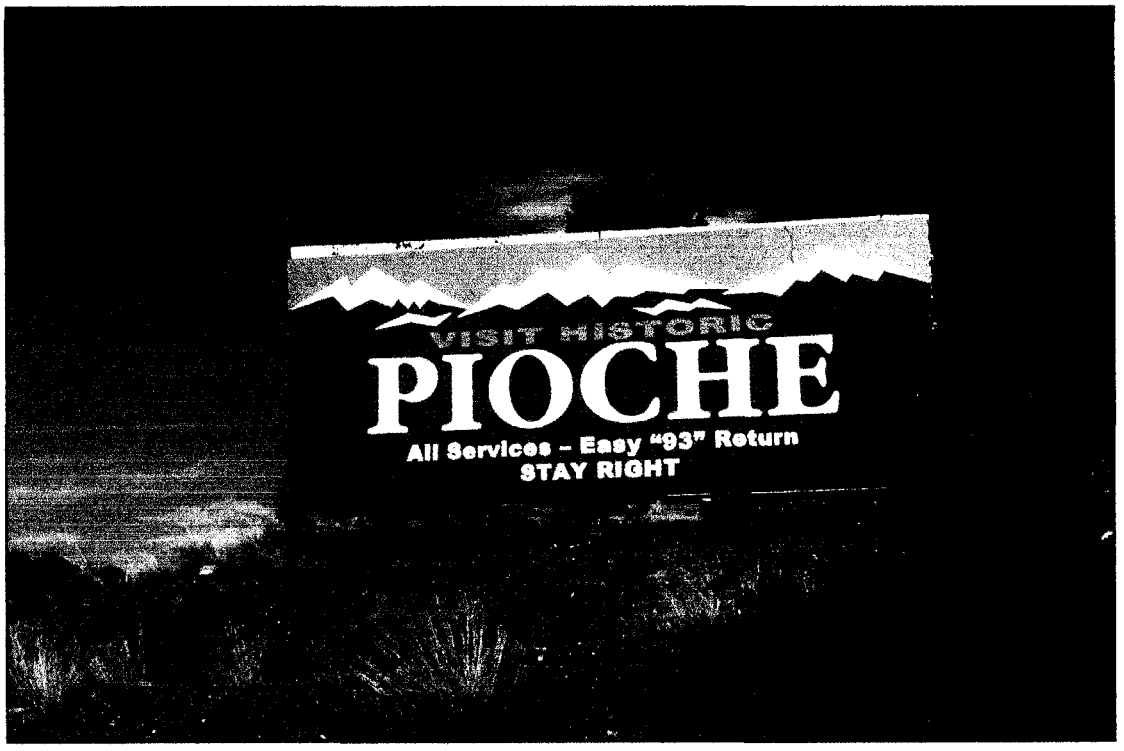

Fig. 5.22 Unlike its neighbor Pioche, Panaca has no signage of any kind to lure outsiders off Highway 93 into town.

Past studies have provided little insight into what a business district might look like in a Mormon village. Francaviglia's work, and that of others, has been principally concerned with a combined agrarian and residential space in towns such as Panaca. Business landscapes are generally attributed to the Americanized homogenization of the Mormon village. This doesn't explain the lack of businesses in Panaca's contemporary landscape. Instead, the number of businesses in Panaca seemed to reach its height during the late 1800s and early 1900s and has seen a general decline ever since.

As shown in figure 5.21, the Merc has no advertisements, announcements of sales, or other invitations to passers by on the highway. The lack of signage is prevalent throughout the town. Unlike its neighboring communities of Pioche and Caliente or the other Mormon towns of southern Utah, Panaca has very little in its landscape that would attract tourists. There are no hotels, restaurants, or even signs such as the one outside Pioche (Fig 5.22) meant to attract the passer by or tourist. Despite being the nearest town to Cathedral Gorge State Park there is no mention of recreation or tourist information. Panaca even lacks those now colloquial lamppost banners that its neighboring towns do that promote local events or attractions.

Combined, Panaca business and public spaces offer little to the outsider. The absence of tourist spaces is interesting, given Panaca's location in the famously self-promoting state of Nevada and its connections to the newer forms of heritage

tourism associated with Utah. Indeed, by not presenting itself to outsiders, Panaca appears to be an anomaly in the tourist West where self promotion and tourism are important parts of the many towns' economy and identity. All this perhaps speaks to the lingering isolationist tendencies that so shaped, and came to dominate, early Mormonism.

Summary

The contemporary landscape of Panaca is one of the better examples of the Mormon village. Somewhat isolated from major population growth, Panaca has been able to retain, although perhaps by default, plenty of agrarian features of the classic Mormon village. Still, there are many aspects of Panaca that clearly deviate from the standard models of Mormon villages that other scholars provide. Panaca's deviations from the classic Mormon village, however, are not simple manifestations of broad, inevitable, and homogenizing social and economic trends. The contemporary landscape of Panaca is the product of social and economic trends interacting with a distinct and enduring first effective settlement landscape of the Mormon village and with social norms of proper land use.

The persistence of certain landscape features and fundamental ideals of the Mormon village merged with newer ideals of land use and aesthetics, creating a town that, while displaying elements of modern suburbia, is still distinctly a product

of its Mormon roots. There is little doubt among the residents of Pioche, Caliente, and Panaca that there are still material and nonmaterial differences between the communities. Historically, formal and informal Mormon Church policies and preferences greatly influenced a number of landscape features of the Mormon village. After 1900 the Church transformed itself. No longer was Zion a specific place that had to be built and colonize. The Church removed itself from many of the day-to-day economic activities of its members. With the switch to cash tithing and a general disinterest in how members were using their land, the Mormon village was no longer a preferred landscape of Church leadership. Informal social contexts and preferences, though, persisted long after.

While Panaca residents no longer look to the Church on how to organize their land, they still participate in a regional social and economic network that includes many of the communities of southern Utah and southern Nevada. These informal networks have been just as powerful in shaping the ideals and perceptions of Panaca and its residents. Interestingly, Panaca has been slower to change than other Mormon villages in the region and thus has not seen the dramatic transformation of its landscape that other towns have. Yet, Panaca still exhibits common expressions of suburban aesthetics and land uses in its landscape, similar to other Mormon villages whose classic agrarian features have been significantly altered. The result is a landscape that expresses both its historical foundations and its current

transformations at once in ways that can be attributed not only to social and cultural influences, but also to economic ones.

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